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ART. I.—THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY.

HISTORY is the mirror of the past and the beacon of the future. It shows us the life of the human race, as a biography shows us the life of the individual man. It shows us the life of the nations who have preceded us, their origin and growth, their rise and their prosperity, their decay and their fall. It shows us the gradual development of political institutions, from the patriarchal to the monarchical, from the aristocratic oligarchy of a Dorian republic to the Parliamentary majority of a modern democracy. It tells the tale of the eternal war between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, between the wisdom of the few and the passions of the many : it tells us of the sufferings of the martyrs of progress, and of the martyrs of prejudice ; of the fate of the few who died for the truth, and of the fate of the many who died for the falsehood that they believed was the truth : it tells us of the ceaseless struggle for existence, of the striving of race with race and of nation with nation ; of the triumph of the strong, of the annihilation of the weak, and of the survival of the fittest.

Its study is the study of man, "the proper study of mankind ;" and its science is as necessary to the philosopher as it is to the politician, to the statesman, and to the diplomatist. For, broadly speaking, the branches of history not only include the record of political movements, the lives of kings and and conquerors, and the story of the growth and decay of nations, but treat of all the many and various arts and sciences of human invention which have been, or are, useful and necessary to mankind. We have histories of civilization ; of

architecture ; histories of music and of painting ; histories even of the fashions in costume. It may be well believed that the investigation of a science so extensive, or rather so universal, might fully employ a lifetime of diligent study and laborious research : and, in attempting a partial and imperfect elucidation of it, we can only briefly skim the surface of the subject

We will, therefore, commence with a short sketch of the nature and progress of historical record from the earliest ages to the present time, and then attempt to explain the principles which govern the application of the science of history ; after which we shall proceed to notice some of the chief factors which go to the making of history, and to illustrate their influence by salient examples from its pages.

History must be coëval with the existence of the human race, and the first unwritten chapters of it would record the battles of primeval man for the possession of water-springs or hunting-grounds, fought out between kindred tribes with fish-bone lances and flint-headed arrows ; or by the same tribes confederated to withstand the invasion of some race of intrusive strangers. But these early conflicts and migrations were never recorded, and for how many ages they continued unrecorded we are quite unable to say ; for there were no means of recording them before the invention of the art of writing, some three thousand years ago.

The internecine wars between the tribes of New Zealanders, which were being continuously carried on when that island was first discovered by Europeans, little more than a century ago, may give us a very fair idea of the conflicts of primitive man. But in the latter case there was no *Deus ex Máchiná*, in the shape of an English trader with a cargo of cheap muskets and gunpowder, to decide the victory : individual skill and prowess gained the day, and invested their possessors with the dignities and powers of chiefs and kings among their fellows, like the Grecian champions in the great epic poems, the facts and incidents recorded in which must have been derived from oral history. Or the victory might be due to the greater cohesion and co-operation among the members of one tribe enabling them to act simultaneously and decisively against their scattered and irresolute enemies.

Yet we find that the traditions of almost all nations point to the original state of mankind as having been one of universal peace and happiness ; though this tradition is at variance with the conclusions of geologists and anthropologists, and is also opposed to the deductions made by experience from the study of the facts of history. The tradition of a Golden Age is due, perhaps, as suggested by Keightley, to a natural operation of the

human mind, which unconsciously draws an analogy between the happy and careless days of childhood and the early infancy of the human race. Similarly we find the Hebrew prophets, in the days of the Jewish monarchy, fondly re-calling the patriarchal state of society as the ideal Golden Age of the nation, when the Israelites dwelt in tents, occupied with the care of their herds and flocks, careless of the luxuries, and untainted by the vices, of Tyrian civilization. Our own experience teaches us that all barbarous nations are imbued with the idea that their forefathers were a superior race of men to themselves, with apparently no better ground for the idea than that expressed in the well-known maxim, *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. We find the same tradition of four different Ages or stages of progressive degeneration in the history of the human race—viz., a Golden, a Silver, a Brazen, and an Iron Age—existing from the earliest times among the Aryan Hindus in Asia and the Aryan Greeks in Europe; from which we may infer that the tradition must have been common to the Aryan race in the times of remotest antiquity before it left its original seats and divided into several branches which migrated in different directions. This affords us an indication of the immense antiquity of some of the oral traditions which were the earliest forms of history. Before the invention and spread of the art of writing, a great mass of historical facts must have been handed down orally from generation to generation. Thus we find the account of a universal deluge transmitted to us by the traditions of several different nations; first orally, and then committed to writing, when the art of writing came into use; as in the Hebrew Scriptures of the Pentateuch, which relate in detail events which happened long before the time of the writer or writers of the books. We have the results of oral tradition also in the poems ascribed to Homer, which narrate the incidents of a war supposed to have happened at least three hundred years before their composition.

Genealogies and lists of dynasties occupy a prominent place among these oral fragments of history: genealogies are often the only histories which barbarous nations possess. The succession of names of a man's own immediate ancestors interests the feeling of family pride, which is the precursor of national pride, or patriotism; and we observe this feeling to be strongest among the nations of Semitic race, among whom the patriarchal system was most thoroughly developed, as may be seen by the genealogies which play so great a part in the Hebrew Scriptures and also in the pedigrees of the Bedouin Arabs. When the science of history began to be cultivated, these existing genealogies served as a framework on which to arrange the facts and incidents handed down by tradition.

The first authentic fragments of written history which we possess are the hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions on the monuments of the Egyptians, Assyrians and other nations of equal antiquity : and the first connected historical narrative with which we are acquainted, is the 'History of the Children of Israel' as narrated in the Pentateuch and in the other historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The great epic poems of Greece are of almost equal antiquity, and though their nature is chiefly mythical, they throw great light upon the early history of the Grecian nation, among whom the science of history was first recognized and cultivated.

We find it dedicated to one of the nine celestial blue-stockings who represented the arts and sciences in their comprehensive mythology ; for the Greeks personified not only the forces of Nature as divinities, but also animal passions and human accomplishments : so we have the nymph Clio, the Muse of History, with clarion, palm-branch and manuscript roll, presiding over the labours of Grecian historians, like Herodotus and Thucydides, the first exemplars of the scientific method of history, which does not rest content with giving a simple narrative of facts as they occurred, but seeks to discover the causes of actions and to connect them with their effects. A distinguishing feature of the work of these early Grecian historians is their appreciation of truth, which is manifest through all the manifold exaggerations of an unscientific and uncritical age : and this quality they transmitted to their successors and imitators, the later historians of Greece and Rome. Old Herodotus, whose historical researches embraced all the countries of the world then known to the Greeks, may be absolutely trusted when he speaks of things within his own observation, and he is careful to distinguish between such authenticated facts, and those which he has gleaned from hearsay. A remarkable corroboration of his accuracy has just been afforded us by the discovery of the race of Pygmies by Mr. Stanley in Central Africa, in the same region in which the account of Herodotus placed them. Subsequent historians, unable to discover any traces of such a race, inferred that his credulity had been imposed upon, and the accuracy of his account, after having been impeached for centuries, is only now triumphantly vindicated, after the lapse of nearly three thousand years !

From these ancient Greek sages a succession of writers have brought down the chain of events that have occurred among the civilized nations of Europe to our own time. It was from Greece that a knowledge of the science of history was diffused among the surrounding peoples. Such a science was unknown to the Oriental nations until the conquest of Alexander

the Great and his successors flooded the Eastern lands with Grecian culture and Grecian ideas. Egyptian, Assyrian, and Phœnician writers then essayed, in imitation of the Greek historians, to set down the history of their own nations, the commencement of which was already lost in the mists of antiquity. We have before alluded to the genealogical lists of the Semitic races, which now became serviceable as a framework to be filled up with incidents, sometimes traditional, sometimes, perhaps, imaginary. Thus the dynastic lists of Egypt and Babylonia were manipulated by writers like Manetho and Berosus and made to extend back to the Deluge and to the Creation of the world. From the examination of their chronology, it has been supposed that they took the names in the existing genealogical and dynastic lists and reckoned each of them at a generation, or period of thirty years, a method of computing historical eras which is still current among the learned in the East. But as they knew that each king could not have reigned exactly thirty years, they divided the time in a plausible manner, assigning to one monarch a reign of twenty-five years ; to another thirty-five ; and so on. In fact the existing genealogies were used as ladders to bridge over spaces of which the would-be historians had no traditional information : a process which we shall find often repeated among more modern Oriental historians.

The mission of Muhammad and the rise of the Arab power had a disastrous effect on the fortune of the science of history among the Eastern nations. The existing literature of those nations was entirely and ruthlessly obliterated. The story of the destruction of the library at Alexandria by the orders of the Khalif Omar, on the ground that, if the contents of the books on its shelves contradicted the revelation of the Koran, they were impious, and if they confirmed it, they were superfluous, may not be actually true, but it is unfortunately typical of the fanatical spirit in which the victorious Arabs viewed the ancient literature of the countries which they so speedily and so completely overran. Four hundred years later, in the Saracenic revival of art and literature under the Abbasside Khalifat, a Persian monarch desired to have the ancient glories of his country recorded in history : and he employed the most famous poet of the time, Firdusi, to enshrine them in the great epic poem entitled the *Shah Nama*, or Book of Kings.

This work was imitated by many others, as, for instance, by the poet Nizami, who produced the epic entitled the *Sikandar Nama*, or History of Alexander the Great : and these well-known poems are the chief authority for ancient history among the Muhammadan nations ; though they really bear no closer relation to authentic history than do the *Iliad* and

Odyssey of Homer to the real facts of the historical events which they record. Firdusi's story goes back to the first rise of the Persian kingdom, before the time of Kai Khusrau, supposed to be the Cyrus of the Grecian historians: and he professes to base his account on the popular traditions of Persia, as extant in his time; for the Arabs had utterly destroyed all the ancient literature of the country. That such oral tradition really did exist, we infer from some correspondence in proper names between his list of Persian Kings and those given in the accounts of the contemporary Grecian historians; but it exists no longer, except as enshrined in his work; and, as this was composed in the tenth century of our era, it can evidently be but little warrant for the events which it describes, some of which happened two thousand years before Firdusi's time.

Nizami's 'History of Alexander the Great' is almost purely romance; and, indeed, few Oriental writers scruple to write romance instead of history. From the time of the overthrow of the Persian Monarchy by the Greeks, under Alexander the Great, to its revival under Ardeshir Babekan and his Sassanide successors, in the second century after Christ, there is a complete gap of four centuries in Persian tradition, and this space has been filled up by Musalman historians with the imaginary dynasty of the Ashkanians.

Similarly Turkish historians, completely ignorant of the ancient history of the kingdoms conquered by their countrymen, and too proud and lazy to study Grecian and European literature, have taken the easier course of inventing a history to suit themselves. A single example of their method will suffice.

They knew that Kustuntuniya, as they call Constantinople, was founded by King Kustuntin (the Emperor Constantine): they also knew that its ancient name was Puzanta (Byzantium): therefore if Kustuntuniya was founded by Kustuntin, Puzanta must have been founded by Puzantin. Hence we have a circumstantial history, detailing the events of the reign of a mythical King Puzantin.

This unfortunate disregard of historical truth is due mainly to religious influences. There are many and voluminous histories in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages, which treat of the events from the time of the mission of the Prophet Muhammad in A. D. 622 down to the present day, and are accurate and painstaking works which supply us with a continuous and trustworthy statement of facts; but the theological bias with which they are inspired, renders them valueless as scientific history. Nothing outside the pale of Islam is regarded as worthy of notice or comment. All the nations of Europe, for instance, are confounded under the common designation of

Franks (Farang) : and their political division is indicated by the comprehensive expression of "the seven infidel kingdoms of the Farang." All events are regarded as the result of the direct interposition of Providence, with the intention of assisting the Musalmans as the chosen people of the Almighty, or of chastising them for neglect of his commands.

The immemorial political condition of the Oriental nations has also impressed itself strongly upon their history, which is a record of the lives and acts of Khalifs and Sultans, not of those of the people. The most valuable accounts of the customs and institutions of the Musalman nations are, therefore, often to be found in the works of European writers, instead of in those of their own historians.

The present Shah of Persia has inaugurated a monumental work, in the "*Násikh ut Tawárikh*," or "*Abrogator of Histories*," a book in many volumes, which he caused to be compiled by a synod of the learned at Teheran, from a number of standard European historical works, so as to form a complete Universal History of the times from the creation of the world to the commencement of the Muhammadan era ; and other similar efforts have been lately made through the press in India and in Egypt to enlighten the blissful ignorance of Islam.

In India also the oldest history exists in the great epic poems of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, in which the events of war, conquest, and migration can be dimly discerned through the mass of tradition and mythological fable with which they are overlaid. The Brahmins reckon their chronology by millions of years, but their earliest authentic records of history are later than those of the Greek historians by some centuries. The Chinese assign the commencement of history to a date considerably over two millions of years ago ; but it is believed that the earliest authentic facts recorded in their histories happened about two thousand years B. C. This would be synchronous with the date assigned in European history to the Universal Deluge ; but the interminable lists of dynasties recorded in Chinese histories, as stretching backwards through the previous two millions of years, are regarded by European scholars as pure fabrications, like the Ashkanian dynasty and King Puzantin. Still, the earliest of all authentic, as well as of all written, history, may probably be referred to China : but it relates only to the Chinese themselves. In the case of China and India, geographical position may account for the isolation which, in the nations of Islam, is due to religion : for, as far as the sciences of history and geography go, India is all the world to the Hindus, and China is the universe in the eyes of the Chinese.

Both Hindus and Chinese probably attained much earlier

to a comparative degree of civilization, and must therefore have had a longer national history than the Western nations of Europe, which have now left them far behind in the path of progress. With the conquest of the Roman Empire by the barbarians of the North, the art of writing history seems for a time to have perished in Europe. Christianity introduced the same theological *animus* which has been so fatal to the science of history among the Musalmans; and the histories of the Aryan nations of Europe long continued subject to its cramping influence. All learning was concentrated in the priestly class, and marvellous legends of saintly statesmen, and apocryphal accounts of the acts of priest-ridden kings, took the place of authentic history: so that it has been aptly said that "Classical history is a part of modern history; it is only mediæval history which is ancient."

The growth of institutions and the progress of national movements were of no interest to the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, who were busy with the exploits of knights-errant, the rules of tournaments, and the intrigues of courts: and the students of a science which had ceased to exist, divided their attention between the histories of the lives of Saints and the equally fabulous histories of imaginary heroes, like King Arthur, and Roland and the Paladins of Charlemagne. But the intellectual and moral stagnation of mediæval Europe was deeply stirred by the invention of printing; which may be looked upon as a principal cause, among many causes, of the gradual growth of civilization, and which led to the liberation of thought and discussion from the trammels imposed by superstition.

From the era of the Reformation the Muse of History again asserted her supremacy in literature, and in the works of Hume, Voltaire, and Gibbon finally shook herself free from the fetters of theology. A long succession of able and learned writers have for us illustrated the annals of the past, and have left scarcely a page of the history of the nations unturned. Ancient monuments have been explored, and old manuscripts deciphered, and every day some fresh discovery in the mines of antiquity throws new light upon the life of the ancient world. A remarkable instance of these discoveries happened only the other day, when a treatise of Aristotle on the 'Constitution of the Republic of Athens' was found among a bundle of old papyrus rolls of manuscripts which had been purchased in Egypt for the British Museum without any suspicion of the value of their contents.

To the investigation of the mass of materials provided by the relics, by ancient monuments, and the labours of previous historians, the critical faculty of acute reasoners and

profound scholars like Gröte and Niebuhr has been applied : and the statements of alleged fact by contemporary historians have been sifted and corrected by the lights afforded by modern science and research. Thus, when we read in the pages of the Roman historian, Livy, the details of the battles between the armies of the Roman Consuls and of Hannibal, we implicitly believe his account ; and experience tells us that it bears the impress of truth. But when we meet with his assertion that on a certain day an ox spoke in the grass-market with a human voice, we pass over the statement with a smile. We know that his credulity in this instance was common to his age and country, and his unintentional falsehood detracts nothing from our opinion of his habitual veracity. Experience teaches us that, in a similar state of knowledge and society in any country, the most learned and the most truth-loving men will be equally the victims and the champions of the common credulity.

Thus, from research and experience, the science of history, of which the foundations were laid by the accuracy and fidelity of Grecian writers two thousand five hundred years ago, has been gradually built up among us : and has become a beacon-tower to guide the footsteps of future generations. The old unscientific method of writing history, in which all the affairs of the world are supposed to be regulated with a view to the interests of some particular creed or nation, is now almost abandoned ; or is relegated to the historians of Musalman countries, and the professors of Jesuit colleges. Not very long ago, the theological method of writing history was universally in vogue. and able and conscientious writers, like Bossuet and Rollin, unintentionally distorted its facts by reflecting them in the mirror of their own pre-conceived ideas. In the theological method the Creation of the world, the Universal Deluge and the Incarnation were epochs around which all the facts of history revolved : and the Israelites and Jews were accepted, at their own valuation, as the most important people among all the nations of the earth. It now appears to us that, relatively to the great nations and empires which existed contemporaneously with them, they occupied no more prominent position then, than Afghanistan does among the nations at the present day. But their Scriptures, having been handed down to us *verbatim* and translated into all languages of the world, and the religious influences which they have transmitted to the Western nations, have given the history of this remarkable people a factitious interest in our eyes, which assumed such enormous importance in the view of the theological historians, as quite to blind them to the real and very subordinate part which the Jews played in history. In the Middle Ages

history was only a handmaid to theology, and the monkish chroniclers explained its events in the manner now particular to Musalman writers, referring victories over the infidels to the efficacy of the Christian religion, and defeats sustained at their hands to the wrath of the Almighty at the sins of his servants. Every event was a recompense or a chastisement, and its justifying cause was attributed by each writer in accordance with his own prejudices or predilections.

It was Voltaire who struck the first blow at the theological method, which still lingers in the bypaths of literature, and we have seen a work published not very long ago, under the title of "Universal History on Scriptural Principles," which, ignoring the fact that the makers of history did not act on Christian principles, but generally quite otherwise, narrated their actions much in the style of the Muhammadan historian above alluded to, but from a Christian point of view, and which was history only in so much as it was a history of the ideas and beliefs of the writer.

Political bias has also been inimical to scientific history, though it has supplied a powerful motive for the elucidation of the causes and methods of historical action. Thus, when the Tory, Mitford, wrote his History, describing the conflicts of the aristocratic and democratic parties in the republics of Greece, from a point of view favourable to the former, the Liberal, Grote, responded with his History of Greece, in which he most ably argued the question in favour of the latter. The French Revolution was generally regarded by our forefathers as a deed of darkness without parallel or palliative, excited by the atheistic and socialistic doctrines preached by Voltaire and the Encyclopedists; until Carlyle showed that it was the legitimate outcome of the Papal, feudal, and monarchical elements of the clerical, social, and political system of France under the *Ancien Régime*; and that though much of its manner was evil, yet its matter on the whole, and in the end, worked for good.

Carlyle had a good word to say even for the partition of Poland, than which no historical action has been more universally execrated, arguing that it was a political necessity, forced upon the royal conspirators, not only in their own interests, but in those of the maintenance of peace and order.

To resort to current topics for an illustration of the difference between political and scientific history, we may refer to the numerous works lately issued from the press in England treating of the history of the English occupation of Ireland, both from the Unionist and the Home Rule point of view. The reader will there find, not only widely different views of the measures adopted, and the methods advocated, for maintaining

the English supremacy in Ireland, but a gloss put upon actual historical facts which lends a material colour to the narrative. This is taking an unwarrantable liberty with the Muse of History, who, unlike her sister Muse of Poetry, suffers no deviation from the absolute worship of the pure truth.

The science of history may be defined as the investigation and record of actual facts and occurrences, and the deduction from them of the general principles which govern and affect the life of nations.

It is a trite saying that "History repeats itself," and we infer from recurring experiences of historical facts, that certain causes may be expected to produce certain corresponding effects. The application of these conclusions to current political questions is one of the most useful and beneficial results of the study of history. To enter into a detail of the application of the science of history to its actual facts would lead to too diffuse a digression ; but we may endeavour to afford a few examples of the method, in the examination of the influences of certain well-known factors in history on the fortunes of nations and kingdoms, such as, for instance, the course of trade and commerce, national and race characteristics, individual character, forms of religion, &c. In the dawn of history—that is to say, the earliest times of which we have any authentic accounts—we find that the human race has already attained to a considerable degree of civilization : men dwell in cities under regular systems of social and political organization, carry on wars, and engage in trade and commerce. Beside these more civilized peoples, we find others existing still in the patriarchal state of society, with the family as the primitive administrative unit among a number of kindred families, who will by degrees coalesce into a tribe, and perhaps in time grow into a great nation. Tracing the course of events backwards from effects to causes, we infer that the chief factor in the growth and spread of civilization and of national unity was the pressure of material wants on the individuals of the human race and the desire for satisfying them, which is the commencement of the growth of luxury. Man's earliest needs in the way of food, fire, and clothing may have been satisfied by his own personal exertions ; but as soon as exchange or barter afforded him a convenient means for obtaining other things beyond the power of his own unaided exertions to procure for himself, the new and convenient institution must have exercised a material influence in directing his wanderings, fixing his habitation, and associating him with others in the pursuit of a common end.

Trade and commerce, as soon as it became regular and customary, would follow the most convenient routes ; and in

the absence of made roads and wheeled vehicles, and in the infancy of navigation, no route could be more convenient and expeditious than the great rivers which afforded waterways navigable for rafts and the earliest and rudest kind of boats for hundreds of miles along their course.

Hence we find the earliest seats of national power, wealth, and culture situated on the banks of great rivers. In the dawn of history the Egyptians on the Nile, and the Assyrians on the Tigris and Euphrates have already founded national empires: and in India early civilization similarly followed the course of the Indus and the Ganges; while the pre-historic social and industrial development of the Chinese race, which has existed unchanged to the present day, may be perhaps referred to the network of great navigable rivers and streams which traverse their Flowery Land. Later on, as the art of navigation improved, the boundless sea lost much of its terror, and the Phœnicians, dwelling upon its shores, became a maritime people, and boldly explored its distant coasts. The sea superseded the rivers as the chief highway of commerce, and the Greeks, whose character and whose country made them eminently a seafaring nation, and whose Aryan descent fitted them to be pioneers of the path of progress, arrived at a degree of culture and of political development to which the Cushite Egyptian and the Semitic Assyrian had never attained.

Again in the darkness of the Middle Ages, we find the traditions of free thought and political liberty sheltered from the despotism of kings and priests in the great cities which formed trading and manufacturing centres in Flanders, Germany and Italy: and when, by the discovery of the mariner's compass, the ocean was conquered, as the sea had been, the new and vast field opened to commerce revolutionized the social state of Europe, largely contributed to bring about the Renaissance and the Reformation, and completely changed the current of history, throwing open the regions of Asia, Africa and America, peopled by the inert masses of unprogressive races, to the energy and enterprise of the European nations, and virtually giving into their hands the Empire of the world.

A conspicuous example of the influence of a trade route in the history of a country may be seen in the case of Egypt, which, from its geographical position, was from the earliest ages the main channel of commerce and communication between the countries of Asia, Europe, and Africa. The Red Sea was the route by which the produce of the looms and mines of China and India reached the dwellers in Mediterranean cities, from a time long before King Solomon built his ships at Ezion-geber to the days when the Venetian and Genoese merchant

princes carried on trade in the bazaars of Cairo and Alexandria under the patronage of the "Grand Soldan." Once the greatest monarchy in the known world, Egypt still remained a wealthy and populous country under the successive domination of Persian satraps, Greek kings and Roman procurators. After its conquest by the Arab followers of Muhammad, it soon became a powerful independent Musalman kingdom, and at the time of the Crusades its sovereigns held sway over large tracts of Asia and Africa.

The monkish historians of the Middle Ages identified "Misr al Káhira—" "the Victorious City—" whose proud title European custom has now converted into Cairo, with the Babylon the Great of the Apocalypse. At the end of the thirteenth century the obstinate valour of its Mameluke masters repelled the invincible arms of the all-conquering Timour from the frontiers of Egypt, and it was the only Musalman monarchy of the East which escaped submersion under the waves of the Tartar deluge.

Just a century later, the long sea route round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Portuguese explorers ; and the trade of China and India was diverted to Europe by the newly-found ocean highway. Egypt at once sunk into a state of poverty and obscurity. For the three centuries following, her name is obliterated from history, nor do we hear more of her till the attention of the world is again called to her by the bold enterprise of Napoleon Buonaparte on her shores in 1798. The opening of the Suez Canal has again restored the ancient path of commerce between West and East, and Egypt will now rapidly recover her former wealth and prosperity, and, under a strong and energetic government, might safely be predicted to recover her former commanding political position. Of course, this striking change in the condition of Egypt, though it coincides with the deprivation and restoration of commerce, cannot be entirely attributed to this sole cause. Just as the actions of individual men can seldom be referred to a single motive, but rather depend on a variety of simultaneous and often contradictory passions and inclinations, so most political effects are produced by a great variety of causes acting and re-acting upon each other, the analysis of which presents almost insuperable difficulties to the conscientious and impartial historian. Thus, in the present instance, the Ottoman conquest, the consequent Turkish domination, and the general decay of the Sultan's power and system of administration are all factors in the decline of Egypt during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; while the introduction of the European system of discipline into the Army, the personal character of Muhammad Ali Pasha, the English occupation,

and other circumstances as well, may all be taken as concurrent causes of the revival of national prosperity.

History is not an exact science, and the well-meant measures of clever politicians for the reform of abuses, the encouragement of commerce and manufactures, and the aggrandisement of national power and influence have often miscarried, or have even been attended by results diametrically opposite to those intended and hoped for, because no latitude has been allowed for the operation of subsidiary causes, whose unsuspected influences lie hidden beneath the surface of the stream of current events, and which may, perhaps, only be discovered and dissected in after ages by the research of the diligent historian.

The ancients seem little to have suspected the influence exercised by the course of commerce on the history of the nations; and even at the present day the existence of this influence, as subtle as it is immense, often passes unsuspected. It was the foundation of the long and strenuous rivalry between England and France during the whole of the eighteenth century, which was ostensibly caused by the support given by Louis the Fourteenth to the claims of the catholic James the Second and his son to the English throne: and it is now the real reason of the similar rivalry between England and Russia in the East, which our politicians are accustomed to refer to the solicitude of the English nation for the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, or of the independence of Bulgaria, or any other convenient motive. We may sum up this branch of our subject by quoting the saying of an ingenious writer, that "all modern wars are wars for a market."

But we have outstripped our subject by some four or five thousand years, and must return to the company of the civilized communities of Egyptians and Chaldeans on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates. These two nations seem to have been of kindred race, and we now call them "Cushites," from Cush, whose name is given as the son of Ham and the ancestor of Nimrod in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. From their physical characteristics and appearance, as depicted on their monuments, however, we should conclude them to be of Caucasian race, and their early adaptability to a state of civilization would also bear out this inference. The type of the race may be seen to-day in the Copt of Egypt, whose blood has not been mingled, like that of the rest of the Egyptian population, with the Semitic strain of the Arab conquerors; in the Nubian and Abyssinian, and in the Berbers, the modern representatives of the Numidians and Mauritanians of the North of Africa. Some of the physical characteristics of the race are a copper colour, straight features, and silky hair; and they can still be traced all along the sea coast of Northern

and Eastern Africa and Arabia, and the shores of the Persian Gulf. When we first discern them in the dawn of history, they have already attained to as high a state of material civilisation as was then possible to them, while around them we see other races who are still barbarians, or in the transition state between barbarism and civilization.

The Semitic races, nomadic and pastoral, occupied the deserts of Arabia and the sea coasts of Syria and Palestine, and spread themselves northwards to the Euphrates ; while the Aryan race, the progenitor of the European nations, descended, probably, from the regions of the Caucasus, or the highlands of Central Asia, filling Persia and Asia Minor and streaming westwards into Europe ; and another branch of it finds its way through Afganistan into India, driving before it the Turanian races which already occupied that Peninsula, into the extreme south. Of the great Turanian or Mongolian race, which then inhabited, and still inhabits, all Eastern and South-eastern Asia, we see nothing in the dawn of history. Their physiognomy and language proclaim them to be totally distinct from either the Japhetic, the Semitic, or the Hamitic race, and there is no mention of them or allusion to them in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, an omission probably to be explained by their remoteness, and the absence of communication between them and the nations of Western Asia ; though some explorers of antiquity believe that the earliest founders of the Babylonian empire, or kingdom, were of Turanian race.

These great races of mankind, easily distinguishable by strongly-marked moral and physical characteristics, appear to us to have been, at the dawn of the history, as different from each other as they now are, after the lapse of three thousand years. We see the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Negro races to-day as we see them depicted in Grecian sculpture, in Assyrian bas-reliefs, in the paintings on Egyptian palace-walls. All the conquests, migrations and intermingling of races that have gone on without intermission from that time to this, have produced but a partial effect along the geographical lines of contact of the races. The type of the mass remains unaltered. We have no data for ascertaining how and when these widely-differing types of mankind diverged from the parent stem of a common ancestor. They have not altered during the three thousand past years of authentic history ; yet we know that they are capable of modification, and we see them modified by climate, inter-breeding and social customs.

We see the influence of climate in the difference in complexion and character of the Aryans in Scandinavia from those in the valley of the Ganges ; and in a less degree between the inhabitants of the Northern and Southern countries of Europe.

We see that the climate of North America and of Australia tends, in a very few generations, to produce a new variety of the Anglo-Saxon type.

An instance of the modification of racial features by interbreeding may be seen in the physical type of the Ottoman Turks. In the first three hundred years of their sojourn in Europe, their harems were continually recruited with captive women of Aryan race, and the constant infusion of Caucasian blood has completely obliterated the "native ugliness of their Tartar ancestry." But a crucial example of the intermingling of races is to be seen in Persia. Originally inhabited by an Aryan people, the pure-blooded descendants of whom may still be seen in the Parsis of India, the country and population has been successively swamped by a Semitic and a Mongolian immigration; the first time by the Arabs, in their zeal for the propagation of the faith of the Prophet Muhammad; the second time by the Tartar hordes of Changiz Khan. Three of the great distinct races of mankind are here mingled together; and the special race characteristics of all three may be traced in the modern Persians.

The effect of religious and social habits in modifying character is obvious, and may be seen to advantage in India or Central Asia, where the polygamous Musalman dwells together with the polyandrous or monogamous Pagan, or Buddhist, of the same race.

From these observations we perceive that the type of a race is variable; yet the bulk of the various races have preserved the type unaltered since history began to be written upon the earth. We must conclude, then, that, if all the races of mankind are sprung from one common progenitor, an incalculable period of time must have elapsed to have permitted such a wide and general variation from the one original type, and that the extravagant chronologies of the Chinese and Hindus, who carry back their historical eras to hundreds of thousands of years, are not so very incredible after all.

Looking back along the path of history we can also perceive that there has been a continued current of human progress, from what the Greeks called the Heroic Age to our own time—progress in knowledge, arts, sciences and ethics—a current often impeded, sometimes checked altogether for a time, but always resuming its flow, and moving faster and faster with the fleeting centuries; so that we see more progress made in knowledge of all kinds now within the last fifty years, than was made in the five hundred years from the time when Herodotus, the Father of History, first put pen to papyrus, to the Golden Age of Roman literature under Augustus, when the history of nations seemed to be finally and fittingly ended in the universal dominion of Rome.

And this progress has been the exclusive appanage and heritage of one of the great races of mankind. The Aryan race, though it does not seem to have been the first to attain to material civilization, is the only one that has continued to progress to the end. The Mongolian Chinese were probably as highly civilized three hundred years ago as they are to-day; while the Greek nation was only beginning to open its eyes on the barbarism in which it lay. But to-day the civilization of the Chinese seems barbarism to the heirs of the Greeks. The Semitic Phœnicians invented the alphabet, and carried on sea-borne commerce with distant lands. But when Tyre and Carthage were crushed by the military might of Assyria and Rome, they left no successors to carry on their work.

The Semitic Arab passed from the black camel-hair tents of Yemen to the pillared arcades of Cordova and the marble halls of the Alhambra. But look at his descendant to-day, in Egypt and Morocco—a sordid and slothful bigot, who has lost both the native virtues of the land of his birth, and the acquired arts of the land of his adoption. The Semite and the Mongolian have had their day, and their time of sway, and they have done great deeds; but they have accomplished nothing in the cause of humanity. Had they alone ruled the destinies of mankind, the life of the human race would have to-day been as stagnant as the life of China; the earth would have been as sterile as the earth of a province of the Turkish Empire. The Japhetic race is the only one that has signalized the triumph of mind over matter, has striven to master the secrets and the forces of Nature, and has pressed the search for truth from discovery to discovery, and from conquest to conquest, till its nations have become the masters of the world again to-day, as their exemplars and prototypes, the Greeks and Romans, were two thousands years ago.

This supremacy is greatly due to their application of science and art to military affairs: for though there have been great nations of warriors among the Semitic and Mongolian races, the scientific soldier is the product of Aryan civilization only. Strategy, tactics, and the principles of military organization were thoroughly understood and practised by the Greeks and Romans, and the retreat of the ten thousand Greek soldiers from Babylonia to the shores of the Euxine, in the face of the might of the whole Persian Empire, was an *epitome* of the long successive series of triumphs of a handful of disciplined European warriors over Asiatic and African hordes. It was superiority in the art of war that planted Grecian dynasties in Syria and Egypt, and made Rome the mistress of the East as well as of the West; that, in our own day, has given India to England, and the Caucasus and Central Asia

to Russia: and it is inferiority in the art of war that neutralizes the enormous numerical preponderance of the Mongolian race, and prevents the Empire of China from taking a place among the Great Powers of the world proportionate to its resources and its pretensions.

This pre-eminence of the Aryan proceeds, no doubt, from the inherited qualities of early ancestors. In intellect and mental power he stands decidedly above the Semitic, and pre-eminently above the Mongolian race. But a detailed investigation of race-characteristics, though it would throw many valuable side-lights upon the history of the human race, would be far too extensive a digression for us to enter upon here. We will content ourselves with quoting the pithy saying of the Arab historian Muhammad-al Damiri, which happily epitomizes the characteristic distinction between the three great races of mankind. "Wisdom," he says, "hath alighted upon three things: on the brains of the Europeans (Farang), on the hands of the Chinamen, and on the tongues of the Arabs."

The ethnological distinction between the progressive Aryan race on the one hand, and the unprogressive Semitic and Turanian races on the other, almost coincides with the geographical distinctions of European and Asiatic, or of Western and Oriental nations. This distinction and opposition appears from the earliest times, and pervades all history. We see it in the hatred of the Israelite for the "uncircumcised" Philistine, and in the Grecian expedition against Troy; in the endless succession of wars waged between Greek and Persian, Cæsar and Sassanide, Crusader and Saracen, Turk and Russian; and it still troubles the world in the Eastern Question of our own day. Yet the distinction is not purely an ethnological one; for the Persians who followed Xerxes to the invasion of Greece were themselves Aryans; and the Hindus, over whom the English rule to-day in the valley of the Ganges, are of pure Aryan extraction. On the other hand, the Japanese, though of Mongolian race, have recently proved themselves capable of assimilating an advanced civilization, in complete contrast to the Chinese, by whom the same stereotyped type of political and social organization maintained for centuries, is still maintained without an attempt at alteration.

Nor can the distinction be referred to difference of religion; for we find the European and Asiatic equally opposed, whatever religion they profess. The antagonism between Christianity and Islam has certainly greatly strengthened the antipathy between the Oriental and the European: but no such bond of discord existed in the days of Marathon and Cunaxa.

Nor is the distinction political either; for we see the

Russians, who two centuries ago were reckoned an Oriental people by both Turks and Christians, assuming the garb and habits of the civilized West, at the command of a despotism of the Oriental type, under which the nation, now grown to be one of the five Great Powers of Europe, and one of the arbiters of the destinies of the civilized world, still groans.

Contentment (which we call apathy); submissiveness (which we call slavishness); and the denial of the equality of woman with man, and her relegation to an inferior position, are the distinguishing characteristics of the nations whom we collectively call Orientals, without attaching to the term any particular ethnographical or geographical idea. The distinction exists; but its definition puzzles the science of history. When the Turks were pushing their career of conquest to the westward, they orientalized the land behind them. Servia, Roumania, Montenegro, Greece are half-oriental to this day. But they are, now that the presence of the Turk has been withdrawn, fast becoming civilized and European; and they will soon be like Hungary, in which a ruined mosque in the towns here and there is the only memento of an Oriental domination that lasted for two hundred years.

The English in India, the French in Algiers, and the Russians in Central Asia have all introduced the material and moral elements of Western civilization: but, were a political revolution to overthrow their power tomorrow, within a year there would not remain a trace of their rule; and the peoples of those countries would have settled down again to the dreamless sleep of the changeless East.

When the curtain first rises on the stage of history, we find it already occupied by many and great nations. How these nations arose, we have no certain means of knowing. Their own records generally trace their origin to some single individual, a mythical and generally a half-divine personage. The origin of the nation was, doubtless, the family, which first expanded into a tribe, and then into a nation. We have a cardinal instance of this national growth in the earliest written history that has come down to us, the *History of the Children of Israel*. There we find the Patriarch, Abraham, the father of two sons, Ishmael and Isaac, from the former of whom the Ishmaelite, or Arab, nation proceeds. Isaac has two sons, Esau and Jacob: from the former springs the Edomite, or Idumean, nation; from the latter the children of Israel. Of his twelve sons each one becomes the progenitor of a tribe called after his name, and the coalition of these twelve tribes forms the Israelitish nation. We see this nation first in a nomadic state, leading a pastoral life, like the Arab tribes in the same localities at the present day. It returns

by a migration to the ancient seats of its forefathers, falls on, and expels, or subdues, a settled population more civilized than itself, and settles down in their place. The disasters arising from the want of a central authority among the tribes induce it to elect a king, and it soon submits to an hereditary dynasty. It makes considerable progress in civilization, till its independent existence is swallowed up in that of a neighbouring great military Empire. We have here a typical instance of the expansion of a family into first a tribal, and then a national organization, the change from a pastoral to a civilized state, and the substitution of regal for patriarchal government. Some similar process must have attended the growth of all nations. The absolute power of the patriarch over his family was transferred to the king over his subjects, and hence the absolute character of all Oriental monarchy, which has unfortunately, in more modern times, been sanctioned by the theocratic spirit of the religion of Islam: "All power is given by God: therefore the power of the King is a gift from God: therefore rebellion against the King is rebellion against God."

This is the theory of Divine Right, which was also the bugbear of Christendom not so very long ago; and it is a striking proof of the reality of progress to which we alluded above, that less than two hundred years ago this doctrine was held in all good faith and sincerity by many educated Englishmen.

In later times we have many instances of the evolution of nations in history. Some have arisen, like the Romans, from a chance confederation of outlaws and free-booters from other nations. The Cossacks furnish a similar modern example, the name Kazak signifying robber in Turkish, and the original bearers of the appellation being Russian, Polish, and Tartar refugees from justice or oppression who found an asylum and an Alsatia in the waste and debateable lands lying between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam.

The origin of the German nation is lost in the mists of antiquity; but its offshoot, our own English nation, can easily be traced through all the stages of its growth, by the successive amalgamation of different nations. The predatory Teutonic tribes which overran Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, were mingled with succeeding bands of Scandinavian invaders: and finally the Normans from France furnished the aristocracy and the military caste of the national triumvirate. Most of the nations of modern Europe similarly are composed of an amalgam of the Northern barbarians, Goths, Huns, and Lombards, who overran the provinces of the Roman Empire, with the original civilized inhabitants. The Russian nation took its rise, in the ninth century of our era, from the conquest of the Slavonian tribes inhabiting Novogo-

rod and the adjacent territory by a band of Scandinavian sea-rovers, an event analogous to the conquest of the English by the Normans two centuries later : and the earliest form of the Latinized appellation "Russian" is found in the Finnish "Ruotsi," which appears to be a corruption of the first syllable of some such word as *rothsmenn* or *rothskarlar*, sea-farers, or sea-rovers.

A striking instance of the growth of a nation in more modern times may be observed in the Sikhs, a peculiar people, who took their rise from a religious sect, founded three hundred years ago in the province of the Punjab by a Hindu ascetic named Nanak, who aspired to the *rôle* of a religious reformer. Persecution converted the sectaries into fanatical warriors ; they grew into a nation, and their swords carved out a kingdom. They are now a separate nation, with a distinct physical appearance, dress, and dialect from those of the people around them, though they have already lost their political independence.

By the operation of one of the unwritten laws of history, the rapidity of their national growth has found its counterpart in decay, and the speedy rise of a political power generally involves as sudden a downfall. The nations which are the slowest in maturing their power enjoy the possession of it the longest.

The migration of nations has exercised a great influence on history. One of the earliest historical facts recorded by Herodotus is the invasion of Asia Minor by hordes of Scythians from the unknown regions of the North, and the allusions in the thirty-eighth and following chapters of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel probably refer to the same event.

From the earliest ages of history, successive waves, or migrations have proceeded at intervals from the regions of the North and East of Asia, spread themselves over the rest of the Continent, and penetrated into Europe.

The great movement which, four hundred years after the commencement of the Christian era, precipitated the Northern nations of Europe upon the Roman Empire in such masses as to overwhelm and overrun it, probably received its first impetus from this quarter ; for, in the wake of the Goths and Vandals, we find the Mongolian nation of the Huns crossing Europe from East to West, and the remnant of them finally settling in Hungary. About the same time the Avars, or Khazars, whose name still survives in the appellation of an insignificant tribe on the shores of the Caspian, appear on the frontiers of the Eastern Roman Empire, pushed on by the pressure of the Turks, who came from the very confines of China, and now make their first appearance on the stage of history.

After this eruption, the human volcano remains quiescent for seven hundred years; then it bursts into renewed activity, and for the space of two centuries pours forth streams of warlike migrations of Tartars and Mongols under Changiz Khan and his successors, and Timur, which flood all Western Asia and overflow into Eastern Europe; and the succeeding ripple of the human wave carries the Ottoman Turks up to the walls of Vienna. China still remains a teeming magazine of millions of mankind, and it is quite possible that the world may again, one day, see the phenomena of these general migrations recurring in the repetitions of history.

The great Semitic migration of the seventh century after Christ is attributed by us to the influence of the mission of Muhammad; but it is equally probable that the success of his prophetic mission was a consequence of a great national upheaval, already begun, for which the new faith supplied a watchword and a rallying point. In Africa we see national migrations occurring at the present time: One tribe or nation moves and sets all the tribes around it moving also; and the gathering mass rolls onward, sweeping everything before it, till it is arrested by the fire-arms of European colonists, or by the sea. The most familiar instance is the Zulu migration under Chaka at the beginning of the present century, which set all the tribes moving along the frontier of the Cape Colony and completely changed the political condition of South Africa.

Among civilized and settled nations colonization takes the place of migration, and satisfies the inexorable need of national expansion. The Greeks colonized Italy and Asia Minor: the Romans colonized the world; the Spaniards and Portuguese colonized South America; and the English have colonized North America and Australia. The growing nation of the Russians, unable to find a sufficient outlet by sea, overflows into the neighbouring countries of Central Asia, and seeks free access to the Mediterranean.

In noticing the origin of the Sikhs, the conversion of a religious sect into a separate nation naturally leads us to the examination of the influence of religion on the history of the nations. Religion has ever had a powerful effect in binding together the units of national life and in prescribing social customs and observances. With most nations religion is the foundation of their social system, and, were it abrogated, society would dissolve, and would have to be re-constructed on a new basis. In Muhammadan countries the political as well as the social system is based upon religion: "Al Mulk wa ad' Din Tawámán," says the Arabic proverb, "The State and the Faith are Twins."

The Israelites stand out prominently among all the peoples of antiquity as a nation whose whole career and character was profoundly affected by the sublime monotheism of their national creed. It forced them into a rigid and persistent opposition to the surrounding Pagan nations, and committed them, at length, to a frantic and hopeless contest with the overwhelming might of Imperial Rome, which naturally and inevitably ended in the political existence of the Jewish nation being extinguished for ever. But their religion had already placed the stamp of election upon them; and their faithful adherence to it has been the chief factor in the preservation of the national identity for so many centuries.

A striking instance of similar causes producing similar results may be seen in the Parsis of India, Aryans and Fire-worshippers, who abandoned their shrines and homes on the conquest of Persia by the Musalman Arabs, rather than renounce their religion. Like the Jews, they have remained perfectly distinct among surrounding alien populations; and, like the Jews, their pastoral and agricultural habits have been exchanged, under the stress of circumstances, for the pursuits of commerce and finance.

Religion had as overwhelming an influence upon the fortune of the Arab nation as it had upon that of their Jewish kindred from whom it was borrowed.

The Prophet Muhammad adopted the pure monotheism, and the Divine Law which had already proved so congenial to the Semitic mind, as the basis of his new revelation: and the spectacle was again seen of a horde of desert warriors attacking and subduing, in the name of religion, a less warlike and more civilized people. Within a hundred years from the death of their Prophet, the Arabs had founded an empire reaching from the mouths of the Volga to the sources of the Nile, and from the banks of the Oxus and the Indus to those of the Ebro and the Tagus. Gibbon and other writers have amused themselves by speculating on what might have been our destinies, had the Saracens not been checked in their career of conquest by Charles Martel on the plains of Tours, or the Turks been turned back by John Sobieski from the ramparts of Vienna.

But no Aryan people would ever have been induced, or forced, to adopt the faith of Islam, utterly uncongenial as it is to their character and habits. The few isolated exceptions in which Sclavonian, Bosniaks and Illyrian Albanians have been led, under stress of circumstances, to adopt the Musalman faith, go to prove the rule. Along with their profession of Islam, they continue to hold many of their Christian superstitions, such as Saint-worship, and prayers for the dead.

The Semitic race is the only race of mankind, it would seem, which can conceive and adhere to a strict monotheistic form of belief. The Turanian races, which have embraced Islam, have also introduced into it the invocation of Saints and the performance of ceremonies at their tombs. "The anthropomorphous Aryan is a born man-worshipper: if he does not worship deified men, he will worship gods incarnate in the shape of man." The Aryan Persians who were unable to emigrate, and were forced to embrace Islam by their Arab conquerors, have become the heretics of the Muhammadan world; honouring in Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, a perfect type of humanity.

The influence of the Musalman faith, though it bore the Arab nation so triumphantly to fame and power, has eventually proved fatal to whatever peoples have professed it. For the acceptance of a code of laws of Divine origin implies the perfection of the code; and what is perfected cannot be amended.

Progress is only possible up to a certain point in Islam: beyond that it is impious. Hence, though the Fetish-worshipping negro of Central Africa is morally and socially elevated by conversion to Islam, it is much better for the future of his race that he should not be so converted. He can be raised out of Fetishism; but he can never be raised out of Islamism. Progress is impossible to the Musalman as long as he remains under his own code; it becomes possible only when his Sacred Law is thrust from the judgment seat, and replaced by more elastic codes, better suited to the needs of human progress. We see to-day the stagnant civilization of the Muhammadan world crumbling away and disintegrating under the presence of the stronger and more vigorous civilization of Europe, which admits no limits to its growth, and permits no obstacle to check its progress.

The religion of the Ancient Greeks was originally Nature-worship under human forms, which harmonized well with the artistic and poetical character of their nation. In the early stages of their civilization, both they and the Romans were much influenced by religion, and had the common habit of referring natural accidents to supernatural causes. Thus we read in Roman History that, when the Latin Prætor, Lucius Annius, spoke with contempt of Jupiter in the Roman Senate-house, and, as he went out, fell down a flight of steep steps and lay lifeless at the bottom, his death was attributed to the vengeance of the outraged Deity. But this natural religion had already been undermined by the stealthy advances of philosophy before it was overthrown by the open attacks of Christianity, which was by degrees adopted by all the nations

which came within the influence of the Roman pale of civilization. This last, purest and simplest of all religions, had not long run its course before it was invested, by the irony of fate, with the mysteries of an intricate dogma, and overloaded with the ceremonies of a most elaborate ritual.

The spiritual tyranny of the Roman hierarchy took the place of the temporal absolutism of the Roman Empire. In fact, "the Papacy was the ghost of the defunct Roman Empire, sitting upon the grave thereof," and enthroned upon its ruins. Sacerdotalism, combined with Feudalism, to oppress the heart and brain of Europe throughout the centuries that have been appropriately termed "the Dark Ages." "The Priests," says the Turkish chronicler, Haji Khalifa, writing in the sixteenth century, "have shackled these fools, and, by their artifices, have brought under their power all the Christians, both small and great."

But in the Middle Ages the reformation assisted the nations to shake off the incubus of priestly authority, which, with one or two exceptions, so rare as only to serve to prove the rule, had always been exerted in the interests of ignorance and despotism; and at the present day the forms of religion have ceased to exercise any preponderating influence on our history. At one time religion arrayed the West against the East, stirred all Europe with zeal for the Holy War, and twelve times carried successive hosts of Crusaders into Asia and Africa. At another time it lighted the flames of civil war, and for two hundred years made Europe the theatre of strife between Catholic and Protestant. It was for long the principal factor in politics; and the question whether a Mediterranean island fortress should hoist the banner of the Crescent or of the Cross upon its towers, or whether the succession to a European crown should devolve upon a Catholic or a Protestant, stirred the sympathy, and engaged the energy, of the whole civilized world.

When we reflect on the rancorous enmity of the professors of rival creeds, the horrors of religious persecutions, and the barbarities which, as the American historian Prescott observes stain religious wars above all others, we cannot regret that the cause of religion has ceased to exert its former influence in the councils of civilized nations.

It is through the medium of religion also that individual influence on the history of mankind has found its most powerful form of expression.

The influence of prophets and religious teachers like Christ, Muhammad, and Buddha, has moulded the faiths and the lives of millions of generations yet unborn. It is noteworthy that these great founders of new religions have all arisen among

the peoples which we term Oriental : and, on a hasty survey, the influence of the individual might appear paramount in Oriental history, where the great names of Cyrus, Saladin, Changhiz Khan, Timur and Nadir Shah tower above a dead-level of contemporaneous mediocrity, like a lofty and solitary obelisk in the midst of a vacant plain ; while the great men of the Western nations, surrounded and supported by their compeers, may be compared to the cupola surmounting and adorning a stately building. This difference is, doubtless, due to the different political conditions of Oriental and European nations ; for it seldom happens that there occurs in the political state of the latter a conjunction favourable to the rise of a Cæsar or a Napoleon.

Yet the genius of the individual, more diffused and more general in the West, is there seen to exert a greater effect on the current of events and on the life of nations than it does in the inert and unprogressive East.

The influence of individuals on the history of the world has been enormous as religious teachers, as warriors and conquerors, as statesmen, and as inventors. In the old style of teaching history, the individual was given rather undue prominence ; and its pages contained little beyond the record of the deeds of heroes, and the utterances of lawgivers. Later it was recognized that the conjunction of the Hour and the Man is required for the making of history. Many a prophet arose in the East before and after the Prophet Muhammad, and they have found thousands of disciples to fight and die in their cause ; but they fought and died in vain.

Many a successful captain may have shared the ambition and genius of Napoleon : but he did not happen to live in the days of the French Revolution. How little individual genius and resolution can effect when their aims run counter to the current of events, may be seen in the results of the policy of statesmen like Richelieu, and of the achievements of soldiers like Charles the Twelfth. All the lasting monuments of history are erected by men who have watched the current and have directed their course accordingly. It is a moot question, whether too much stress is not laid on the influence of individuals even in modern views of history. We are apt to think of such men as Bismarck and Cavour as master-minds compelling events to become subservient to their political ideas. But their greatness really consists in divining the signs of the times, and in recognizing the requirements of the political situation. If the heart of the great German nation had not been set on unity, Bismarck's specific of blood and iron would have been of no avail. Cavour's policy followed, but did not lead, the fortunes of Garibaldi.

Yet nations are but aggregates of individuals, and national character is the sum of individual characters. When the humblest individual seeks the truth and holds fast that which is right, he plays a worthy part, however infinitesimal, on the stage of the world's history.

As the German poet sings :—

“ Drum halte fest die Wahre, verfechte blos das Recht,
Und dann bist du ein König, und wärest du auch ein Knecht ! ”

From the earliest times of history, the practice has obtained of dividing its record into epochs, or eras, usually hinging on some great or noteworthy events, which, like mile-stones, serve to mark the distances along the road of human progress. But, as these landmarks owe their prominence much more to imagination than to fact, they often serve only to confuse the mind of the historical student, and to divert his attention from the true course of history, by fixing it on arbitrary starting points. For instance, the establishment of the Muhammadan Era of the Hegira or Flight of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca, is largely responsible for the ignorance of, and contempt for, all history prior to that era, which characterizes Musalman nations. They have actually no chronology before their year 1 A.H., which corresponds to 622 A.D. History exists for them only from that time forward.

We make the birth of our Lord the most conspicuous landmark in history, though, at the time, it passed unnoticed and unrecorded ; nor did it have any effect upon the history of the world till three centuries later. Consequently, in our minds, the centuries before Christ and after Christ are sharply divided from each other, as the Northern and Southern hemispheres are divided on the map by the imaginary line of the Equator, while in reality no such arbitrary barrier exists in time or space. The French Republican leaders reckoned on the influence which these imaginary points of departure exert upon the minds of men, when they made their futile attempt to ignore all previously existing eras, and to recommence history by making a fresh start from “the first year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.”

In reviewing the course of history, we seem to recognize the presence of strong currents of human opinion or inclination, which colour its events, and give to each period, or each generation, a peculiar character of its own. In the East, among the Semitic and Turanian peoples, these currents flow generally from a religious source, and are therefore more permanent and more continuous. Among the civilized nations of Europe they are more rapid in running their course, more shifting and more changeful. At one time they tend to the substitution of the power of an absolute monarchy for that

of a feudal aristocracy ; at another, to the limitation of the power of a monarchy by that of a democracy.

In the Middle Ages we see the religious idea governing politics ; French Huguenots looking to England, and German Lutherans to Sweden, as their political centre ; while Catholic Poles persecute Orthodox Russians, and the Greek Christians of Bosnia turn Turk to avoid being coerced into serving the Pope. A century later, we find religious antipathy surviving only as a stalking horse for dynastic rivalries ; and the strife of war and of diplomacy revolves round Royal marriages and intrigues ; round the conflicting claims of the Houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg, or of Stuart and Brunswick. And now, in our own time, it is no longer rival creeds, or family quarrels, that influence the course of history, but the sympathy of peoples connected by ties of blood and language, but divided by political differences.

All those of one race or nationality strive to coalesce : all those of diverse descent struggle to disengage themselves from an uncongenial union. The present age is the era of the nationalities. In our own day we have seen all the separate States of Italy united in one Italian Kingdom, and all the loosely-knit members of the Germanic Confederation re-uniting under the standard of a renewed German Empire. And now we see the great Slavonic race agitated by a similar longing for political unity, which the Panslavists hope to see some day accomplished under the hegemony of Russia. On the other hand, in the Austrian Empire we find the ill-assorted political congeries of nationalities all struggling to get rid of their bond of union. The Magyar can scarcely repress his ill-concealed antipathy to his German comrade ; the Czech is anxious to be separated from both ; and the Southern Slavonians look longingly towards Russia and their brethren in the Balkan Peninsula. It is no rash prophecy to foretell that the next great European war will shake the unstable edifice of Hapsburg rule to its foundations. And, as the masses of the nations come, with the advance of democracy, to have more and more an active part in the management of political affairs, the national movement will spread in ever-widening circles, until, perhaps, eventually the political and ethnological divisions of the human race coincide. In the words of the Arabic poet, Ibn al Farid, in his *Tey'eeyat al Kubra* :—

“Not in vain the Nation-strivings,
Nor by chance the currents flow ;
Error-mazed, yet truth-directed,
To one certain end they go.”

ART. II.—THE SEAMY SIDE OF LIFE IN INDIA.

ALTHOUGH we are not absolute Mark Tapleys, there is a tendency amongst most of us in India, as indeed there is in most places of exile, to make the best of things—to look upon the bright side of the picture, and to bring into strong relief the points in which India is better than the Old Country. They are few enough, in all conscience, but we love to give them their full prominence. For instance, we contrast our Indian cold weather—its bearable climate and its varied amusements—with the English winter, its fogs and melting snow. Even in the hot weather, when driving behind a good pair of walers, we reflect upon the distance of a carriage and pair from the reach of a man of moderate means in England. In short, we all have a tendency to make the most of the good the gods have given us, and try to minimize the hardship of our lot. Those who have not that modicum of Mark Tapley's philosophy in their composition, are unfitted for life in India. They are soon invalided home, if they do not go to their last home in one of those Indian cemeteries designed after the latest hideous "Standard Plan" of the Public Works Department and improved at each period of Quadrennial Repairs.

When we come home, however, and the necessity for an enforced optimism ceases to exist, we begin, or some of us do, to think over all we have left behind; and, banishing the thought that we have got to go back to it again, we begin to judge the land we have quitted more soberly and critically, and to see things as they are, and not as we have persuaded ourselves to imagine them to be.

Basking in an English summer sunshine without an off chance of sunstroke; eating and drinking heartily without speculation as to the effect on our liver (to say nothing of a latent dread of cholera); taking our walks abroad without the chance of meeting either a snake or a baboo of the latest young India cult, all these things tend to free our spirit and to enable us to see things Indian without the tinted glasses which are so necessary in this country, as well for the soul as for the body.

Scores of painters, both in words and in colour, have given us pictures of the Indian village. The stately peepul tree and the temple, grey with the growth of centuries, stand out in prominent relief. The groups of huts, embedded in leaves and plants of many hues, help to make up the beauty of the landscape. The tank, with its lotus flowers on the surface, and its no less graceful surroundings of maidens poisoning their water vessels on

their shapely heads ; the happy ploughman, following his yoke of oxen ; and the aged men of the village, sitting in council under the sacred tree,—all these go to make up the Indian village landscape, as presented to us in the pages of the novelist, who, perhaps, has never been inside an Indian village in his life ; or, by the painter, who set up his easel at a distance charming for effect and not too near the subject of his picture.

These pictures are not altogether misleading. There are few prettier sights than a distant view of an Indian village on a bright cold weather morning. But the view must be a distant one. As you approach the place, the seamy side of the woof presents itself in ever increasing vividness.

The only Europeans who ever see the inside of an Indian village are those whose business calls them there. When I say see the inside, I mean, see it with any opportunity of knowing what it is really like. The globe-trotting sportsman may pass through it on his way to the chase ; the itinerant philanthropist may catch a glimpse of it from a railway carriage, or through the half-open doors of a *dâk gari*, or a palanquin (this limit to his vision does not prevent the latter from writing as though he knew all about it) ; but, I don't think I am far astray in saying, that the only people who have any opportunity of studying the internal economy of a *basti*, or village, are the official, the planter, and the missionary.

I have mixed much with both planters and missionaries, and most of my social life in India has been spent amongst officials. The missionary, in his zeal for his high calling, sees beauty in things and surroundings which are in themselves most unlovely ; and it may be that the seamy side of an Indian village is lost to his gaze. I venture to say, however, that few planters, or officials, can be found who do not inwardly smile at the pictures drawn of Indian village life, whether by the novelist, or by the painter. They cannot, at any rate, help contrasting the outward beauty of the picture with the hideous realities with which their work makes them but too well acquainted.

Now, the novelist who has done most to depict Indian village life, is Meadows Taylor ; but he looks upon the romantic side of things. His heroines are women of action ; his village scenes are pastorals ; I cannot recall one of his pictures which sets forth the squalor, misery and unloveliness which are to be found *in* almost every village that I have seen, and I have seen hundreds. [I italicise *in* advisedly ; for, from a distant and cursory view, these defects do not come obtrusively before one.] Painters, from Val Prinsep down to the most humble aspirant for honours at the Simla or Calcutta Art Exhibitions, have given us countless views of Indian village scenery. They have

naturally selected points of vantage from which to paint the most pleasing pictures. There is no realistic school of Indian Art, either in writing or in painting, which dissects a subject pleasing to the eye as a picture; and it is not desirable that Art should be used to lay bare deformities, which, from an æsthetic point of view, are best hidden. From the nature of the subject, then, we have but limited opportunities of seeing Indian villages as they are, and the lives led by those whose fate dooms them to dwell therein.

I am not unmindful of the great works of Sir William Hunter when I make this assertion; but his books are not within the reach of many, and, even if they were, they are written to serve a higher purpose than a mere sketch of villages and village life. Word-pictures of the most graceful kind are to be found all over his writings; but they have to be sought for amongst weightier matter, to which they serve as beautiful illustrations. Even Sir William Hunter, in his work on "Orissa," although he gives us full statistics of ordinary villages, telling us what food the people eat, with what raiment they are clothed, and what wages they earn, reserves his greatest masterpieces of description for the villages amongst the Hill Tribes, where he depicts scenes and customs known to but few even of those whose lives are spent in India. He has these subjects worthy of his pen, and he has put forth his wonderful powers of description on them, rather than on scenes more or less familiar to a great number of his readers.

Notwithstanding all the brightness of colour with which an eastern sun can light up the foliage and costumes which go to make up the picture of an Indian village, there is, in the life of an Indian peasant, something very colourless and leaden-hued. This may seem unaccountable; for the lives of people are more or less influenced by their physical surroundings. There is something contagious in Nature which shows itself in those who come under her influence. It might, therefore, be expected that the life of an Indian peasant would have some of the brightness which pervades the landscape of the place in which he dwells. When, however, an Indian village is drawn, as it were, to scale, and not from the point of view of the picturesque, the picture is not quite so bright; and we begin to understand that there are physical conditions which counteract the brightness and overcast the sky under which peasant life is spent.

I do not think I can better describe what I mean, than by giving a sketch of a village near which I was encamped last year.

It was on the Grand Trunk Road, which runs from Delhi in the Panjab to Pooree, the seat of the great temple of

Juggernath in Orissa. My camp was pitched a little outside the village ; for a bold man would he be who, knowing what an Indian village is, should pitch his tent at any but a safe distance from the various sights and smells which would assail him were he to venture too near. The village itself had nothing striking about it to distinguish it from the thousands of other villages scattered about Bengal. If anything, the colouring was brighter, as it lay on the great pilgrim highway, and the dresses of those on the roadside, and by the village tank, were more diversified and picturesque than one would see in an ordinary village, inhabited by one set of people.

I remember that the scene struck me as one that would give a very good idea of how pretty a village could be made to look—in a picture. Now, if an artist were to have set up his easel near the site of my camp, he would have had for his foreground a little sheet of water, more or less overgrown with vegetation and brightened by an odd lotus flower. The setting sun on this would add to the beauty of the picture, and would light up a hut, buried in a mass of luxuriant foliage. Two or three dusky figures and a stray pariah dog would add life to the scene. This would be a foreground, and a very effective one, to a cluster of many shaped huts, built near the village tank, and overshadowed by a mighty peepul tree.

In the village which I am describing, the remains of an old saltpetre mound broke the monotonous flatness of the surrounding country, and, in a picture, would have given the idea of a bit of natural rising ground, at the base of which the village had sprung up.

The many-coloured garments of the women, the intense green of the foliage, and the grey walls of the mud huts, would have given variety of colour, to add brightness to the landscape, and the entire scene would give an idea of an Eastern Auburn (more especially to one who had been reading and swallowing the effusions of the latest itinerant philanthropist, whose views of India were strongly tinted by imagination, and whose deductions regarding things Indian were based upon preconceived ideas, to establish the truth of which he had made a hasty tour through India in the one delightful season of the year).

I have tried to give an idea of what an Indian village looked like on a cold weather evening. The cold weather, as we all know, is the halcyon time of the Indian year. The sky is no longer as brass and the earth as iron, as they are in the middle of the hot weather, nor is the ground a swamp beneath the feet, as it is during the rains. It is the time of the harvest of the principal rice crop. It is a time when, if at all, the heart of man should be made glad.

But gladness, as we understand the word, is a stranger to a

Bengalee villager. There is a fatalistic acquiescence in things as they are, if you like ; but mirth or joy, such as we see in the most miserable parts of England, at some time or other, forms no part of his daily life. Let us examine more closely the scene in which that life is spent from the cradle to the grave. We cannot do better than go through the details of the picture I have drawn above—to draw it as it were to scale.

Leaving the camp, and walking for half a mile or so down the beautifully-metalled road, we come to the sheet of water which formed the foreground of the picture. A sickening odour of decaying vegetable matter is the first warning of one's nearness to it. For that which looked like a little sheet of sunlit water in the distance, turns out to be a depression of the soil, undrained, and covered with stagnant water. Into this refuse of every kind is thrown. It is the uncovered *cloaca maxima* of the village. The hut which stands a little way from it, is what is known as the *kalali* in Bengal. It corresponds to the village inn in England. Here, if anywhere, the leaden hue of peasant life comes prominently forward. A village inn is generally a scene of more or less life and brightness in England ; for, apart from the evil which may attend the sale of liquor, no one can deny that, of a summer evening, the village alehouse has a cheerful aspect, the Bengal *kalali* is quite the reverse. It is part of my duty to inspect these places, and I well remember going up with my companion, the police officer, to the one which I am describing. We had first to pick our way through a lot of filthy, rotting matter—the waste which had been thrown out anyhow after the country spirit had been distilled. A number of black, broken earthen vessels lay scattered about the ground, and, indeed, were useful as stepping stones through the mire. Our approach was not heard, and we were able to stand for a few minutes at the door and look in without being seen. Round one side of the mud-and-wattle walls of the hut were the three distilling vessels allowed by law, in full work. The sickly smell of the boiling mass pervaded the whole place. Three or four wretched-looking men were seated on the ground drinking their liquor out of earthen pipkins ; but no signs of revel or mirth were there. They drank in absolute silence the weak nauseating stuff that takes the place in India of the beer of the English rustic.

An analysis of the liquor showed that, despite all that is said about the spread of drunkenness in India, the spirit supplied in public-houses licensed by Government contains a very slight proportion of alcohol. The appearance of those whom we saw drinking it did not suggest the idea that it was very exhilarating or mirth inspiring. We enquired about the

revellers, and were told that they were wayfarers, and that one of the company was standing drinks round to the rest. Anything more unlike a social glass could hardly be imagined. It would be difficult to suppose even Mark Tapley himself jolly in the midst of surroundings so little calculated to raise the most buoyant nature.

I don't think I am wrong in saying that this is a fairly average description of any public-house in Bengal during the day. At night, I fear, the scene is more animated, but not in the direction of being more cheerful. It is more strictly businesslike; for the public-house, or that of ill-fame, is generally the place where thieves assemble to plan their operations, or divide their spoil. At any rate enquiry in the case of any organized crime is first directed to these institutions. (It is one of the indirect advantages of having liquor shops under police control, that these assemblies for the purpose of plotting crime are consequently attended with more or less risk to the conspirators.) But by night or day there is no gladness attending even the revels of the Indian peasant. A dull crooning of a song, more or less obscene, is sometimes heard, but laughter does not follow the efforts of the vocalist; nor does the song appear to be the outburst of excessive high spirits on the part of the singer. If frequenting taverns be a vice, there is, I think, a very seamy side to even the vices of Indian peasant life.

When we come to the picturesque cluster of huts which formed the main feature of the landscape, the seamy side comes out in very startling reality. It is difficult to convey to a reader who has not seen it, an idea of the exterior of an Indian village. It is such a curious mixture of cleanliness and squalor. Hindus, by their religion, are enjoined to observe certain ceremonies, which are undoubtedly conducive to cleanliness. One of these is the washing of the floors of their houses. And if one could shut his eyes to the outside of a hut, and had his sense of smell deadened, an Indian village would appear to be a tidy and cleanly place. The brass vessels in daily use shine like mirrors on the outside. Their construction prevents a thorough inward cleansing. The floor is washed and scrupulously clean; but there all cleanliness ends. Outside the door, and impregnating the air both within and without with its fetid exhalations, is an earthen drain into which all the household filth is cast. When a shower comes, it gets a bath of water, but it is generally so choked up, that the water does not flow away, but remains there to stagnate and add its quota to the noisome vapours given off when the sun strikes fiercely upon the mass of decaying matter with which the drain is already congested. The outside walls of the house are ornamented

with cakes of drying cowdung in the course of preparation for fuel, and a mass of the unprepared material is stacked in a basket close by. The effect of this on a steamy, hot day in the rains may be better imagined than described. Outside the door is flung everything that has served its purpose and is no longer of any use. Broken pots, refuse, vegetable matter, rotting stalks of the plantain, all add to the dirt outside a cottage, and form the play-ground in which the Bengalee peasant spends his infancy.

The houses of the well-to-do are but little better. They are built of brick, for the most part sun-dried, and are not so easily kept clean as the hard earthen floors of the dwellings of the poorer classes. There is one large court, round which the dwelling-rooms are built, and these dwelling-rooms are about the size of prison cells and are utterly without ventilation, save, in some cases, from a thickly grated window,

The so-called sanitary arrangements are indescribably dreadful. In fact, sanitation, or the most elementary ideas thereof, are an innovation from the West. Judging from the action of educated bodies of natives, even in such a centre of civilization as Calcutta, they have not yet penetrated the outer skin of the most advanced native society.

This fact comes into greater relief when we look at native municipal bodies in the country. These municipal bodies—were there no checks to hinder them—would squander money on schools for the purpose of giving an almost free education to the sons of men who ought not to require such assistance, but for sanitation, every penny that is doled out is given grudgingly and of necessity.—This money, be it remembered, is contributed by the rate-payers, and is supposed primarily to be devoted to the improvement of the health of those who contribute it. In villages there is not even the pretence made of enforcing the most primitive rules of health; and an effort, which is now being made by the Government of India for the purpose of enforcing sanitary measures in Rural Districts, is received with anything but satisfaction by those who consider themselves competent to exercise control over the finances of each District, or, even (as some claim), of those of the Empire itself.

Leaving the cottage with the surroundings which I have described, we come to the tank which is the one distinguishing feature of Indian villages, above those of any other country. Some of these tanks have very many points of great beauty. To dig a tank and to plant a grove of trees used, in days gone by, to be considered works pleasing to the gods. To beautify and adorn existing tanks was looked upon as a sacred duty. That form of piety is, alas! dying out, with what is called advancing education, and, as was well expressed by an eminent Indian

civilian, these monuments of piety are fast disappearing with the decay of the religious spirit (or *Dharma*) which called them into existence. Modern Indian men of light and leading are too busy with politics to care to give water to the thirsty land or shade to the sun-stricken traveller.

However, when these monuments of the past have not been allowed to fall into decay, there still remain the flights of well-built steps, grey with the growth of years, leading down to the water's edge. The trees planted by the water's side give a grateful shade and add beauty to the scene, and, in some places, an ancient temple lends its graceful outlines to the picture. One would suppose that the tank would at least be free from anything to mar its beauty, but it is not so. In the distance the crowd of bathers, the women clad in varied bright colours and the men in their more simple dress, all add colour and light to the landscape, but, as in most things Indian, when you approach near to the crowd, the beauty of the scene disappears, and the reality of what is going on dispels the illusion that gave its charm to the picture. Each of the bathers is well anointed with oil before going into the water, and, in the course of his ablutions, he scoops up and drinks the water in which he, with scores of others, is washing. The brightly-clad maidens and matrons, having just washed their bodies, proceed to wash their garments, and then fill a vessel full of the water they have been using, and carry it home for all domestic purposes, both for cooking and drinking. Thus, then, from his infancy to his manhood, the life of an Indian peasant is spent amidst surroundings of the most unwholesome kind. In Bengal there are added to the avoidable filth which I have described, the unavoidable evils of a climate which tends to enervate, day by day, the strongest constitution. The result of the effect of the climate is shown in the physique of the people who are weakly, effeminate and timid. The *corpus sanum* is lacking for the *mens sana*, and, though intellectually quick, the most educated classes lack the physical backbone which is the growth of a soil less unfavourably circumstanced. Upon the uneducated peasant, the marks of the atmosphere in which his life is spent are shown in the listless apathy which he displays towards any subject which does not immediately concern either his person or his pocket. The leaden colour which pervades the sky of his life is, to some extent, due to the miasma in which he is brought up, and which is sufficient to obscure the brightest sky over which it casts its noisome cloud.

I think I have succeeded in showing that there is a seamy side to the most beautiful village landscape, and that the picture which looks so beautiful from a distance, will not bear a detailed inspection of too searching a nature.

The physical surroundings of those who dwell in the towns are but little, if any, better. Outward decency is certainly more observed ; but it is a question whether the crowding together of the dwellings of the people does not more than counteract the better outward show. There has never been much money available for large schemes of sanitation, except in the Presidency-towns and one or two large places of almost equal importance. In Calcutta, judging from recent reports, sanitation is positively hindered by the action of elected representatives of the people. In the country towns, since the administration of municipal affairs has been taken out of the hands of officials and given over to those of bodies more or less elected, sanitation has not advanced, if, indeed, it has not absolutely retrograded. That it is not an impossible feat to enforce sanitation in Indian towns, is illustrated by the arrangements carried out in every large cantonment. Sentimental ideas of freedom are not allowed to interfere with the health of soldiers, whether Native or European, and I have not yet heard that the idea of an elective cantonment committee has ever been thought of, much less put into force.

There is, therefore, a seamy side to all the physical surroundings of those who are brought up and live in either the village or the country towns of India. It is enough, in all conscience, to account for the lives of the poorer classes being dull and leaden-hued. They have nothing to interest them beyond their daily life, and that a life passed in an atmosphere not conducive to vigour or brightness of either mind or body. The fabric which composes the moral, social and economic conditions of Indian life, has also a seamy side in comparison with which the physical seamy side is as nothing. In trying to describe this, I shall not rely entirely on my own personal observation. I have always made a point of listening to what the people themselves had to say about themselves, their wants and troubles, and, in this sketch, I shall try to give the substance of what I have thus gathered. When I say *the people themselves*, I mean those whom I have come across in the course of my daily life and work. I do not refer to those who, looking down with the most supreme contempt on all whom they consider beneath themselves in caste or intellectual attainments, yet profess to represent the cause of "the dumb millions."

In India, as in all other parts of the world, the lives of little children are the most free from care. The man child has not yet come under the sway of the village Orbilius, nor has he to endure all kinds of weather in herding cattle in the fields. The woman child has not yet become a child-wife, with the awful possibilities of child widowhood before her. Although their play-ground be but little better than a

refuse plit, yet the heaven of happiness lies about (even Indian children in their infancy. But the child life is brief there, as compared with that enjoyed by children in other countries. Boys, as soon as they can toddle, are set to look after herds of buffaloes; and girls—well there is no use in discussing here the evils of child marriage; but I cannot help describing one sight I saw as a commentary on the subject more eloquent than pages of writing. I was driving with my family from one camp to another, in a lonely part of the district of which I then had charge. We saw in the distance, coming towards us, a palanquin covered with red cloth, such as is generally used for the purpose of carrying native ladies. It was unattended, save by the bearers and two female servants. As it came within hearing distance, we heard the most bitter wailing from within. A weeping such as one would have expected to have heard from one mourning for the dead. As the voice was clearly that of a child, we stopped and asked what was the matter. We were told, in the most matter-of-fact way, that it was only a child-wife going to her husband's home for the first time. Married, as an infant, to another little more than an infant, and as yet in what we should call her early childhood, this little maiden was, as it were, shut up in a box (for a lady's palanquin is but little better than a box), and sent miles away from home, to enter upon married life with a young man whom she had scarcely ever seen, and with whom she could not possibly have any sympathy. It was no wonder that her grief was bitter, more especially if she had seen in her own home the life led by a young Hindu widow, and thought of the possibility of a similar fate being in store for herself. A hideous seam is here shown in the woof of native life; one which permeates the entire fabric of Indian society. We should believe a little more in the sincerity of Indian reformers, were they to turn their attention to this and other fearful social deformities, and acknowledge the part played by such customs in bringing about the degradation of their countrymen. All the political privileges in the world will not avail to elevate a people in whose inmost life exist such social cancers. The contrast between the free, out-of-door life of the English family, and the dreary life of imprisonment in store for the child in the palanquin, might well be used as an argument against those who see in English rule the cause of all the misery which exists amongst the so-called down-trodden people of India.

After the brief period of happiness which child life gives in India has passed away, and the realities of life begin, the seamy side shows itself in ever increasing vividness. Now, what I want to show is, that this seaminess is part of that second nature which habit has ingrained in the people. That it is not the

result of extraneous forces, political or otherwise, acting on the people from without.

It is, of course, a matter of history that, until the British Power consolidated and united India under one rule, the country was one seething mass of internal fighting. According as one or the other of the many races of which the country is made up, got to be for the moment powerful, it promptly turned its attention to its weaker neighbours, and devoured their substance and reduced them to utter subjection. Its own time came when another race rose into power, and so the tragedy went on. The description given by Mr. Justin Macarthy, of the seals, at the Golden Gates at San Francisco, illustrates, as well as any thing could, the state of things before British rule. One race climbing into power on the back of another and treading under foot those that were weaker than itself.

Now, what races in India were, before their subjection under one power, such would Indian rural society be to-day, were it not for the strong arm of the law, in the first instance, and to some extent, for the leavening power which European example and influence has had over the whole mass. Let us look for a moment at the natural construction of village society. There is first of all, if the village be the head-quarters of the landlord, the *raj-bari*, or, as it would be called in England, the "big house." Taking, as I have done all along, an instance from my own experience, I shall try to give a sketch of how a *raj-bari* strikes an ordinary outsider. The place of which I speak is in an Eastern Bengal District, and is fairly typical of its class. When I first came into camp near the dwelling of that landlord, I received two or more sets of presents of flowers and vegetables. Each present was accompanied by fowls, sheep and other more substantial articles of food, all of which were, of course, returned. These presents of fowls, &c., are a relic of the past, when, I suppose, supplies were difficult to obtain. There is no idea of undue influence underlying the attention; but officers now-a-days draw the line at receiving flowers, &c., and return the more substantial offerings. The sending of these complimentary gifts was followed by a request for an interview by each of the senders. This was, of course, granted, and each of the leading members of the family came separately to see me. It was not very long before we found out that the direst hatred prevailed amongst the members of the family, and each one did his best to impress me with the idea that his relative was, on the whole, rather a worse character than James Case and Judas Iscariot put together. I, of course, did not enter much into the dispute between them, but I subsequently found out that the family patrimony was finding its

way into the hands of lawyers. One of the principal subjects of the fight was the building of a wall inside the family premises. I went to return the visits made to me by each member of the family ; and nothing could have seemed more absurd than that in the same group of buildings one had to pay separate visits, and be received by separate sets of retainers and at different times. I should have identified myself with one party or the other had I gone to one man's apartments first, and then from them to those of his enemy. Now here is the very place where one would have expected and hoped that an example would have been set of order and a law-abiding spirit. There were two hostile camps headed by relatives at war with each other, and made up of retainers, ignorant men, only restrained by the law from flying at each other's throats. Now family quarrels are the rule, and not the exception, in large Bengal families ; and hence I am not far wrong in saying that, but for the law, a constant scene of anarchy and fighting would prevail, until one of the contending parties had gone to the wall and was utterly subdued by the force which the other could bring to bear upon him. As it is, pretty much the same thing arises, only the Civil Court is the chief arena of the fight, and the issue is decided by the longest purse. Despite the law, however, these natural leaders of the community either cannot or do not prevent their servants from getting up fights amongst the tenantry, and securing first blood, both literally and metaphorically, by means of a riot, culminating in a criminal trial, in which the instruments are punished, whilst the leaders get off scot-free in too many instances.

The use of forgery is one of the most startling features in litigation in India, whether the dispute be between landlord and tenant, or between the money-lender and his client.

I have heard of one authenticated instance in which an estate came under the management of the Court of Wards, and all papers, securities and valuables were taken possession of by that Court. One of the most valuable bequests which the late proprietor left to his heir, was a series of blank stamps of every year during the lifetime of that proprietor, or, at any rate, for many years back. The use of this singular collection would not at first strike one, until it was explained that the watermark of stamps differs for each year, and a document purporting to be executed during any given year must bear the watermark of that year, or of a previous year, to prevent its being at once detected as a forgery. An instance given by Mr. Justice Field in his work on "Evidence," shows to what an extent forgery prevails in business transactions.—"One man sued another on a forged bond, and the defence set up (which ultimately succeeded) was a forged receipt for the repayment of the loan

which had never been given. The use of forgery has been, to a great extent, diminished by the compulsory registration of documents conveying rights in property, but the fact remains that, whether by force or fraud, the natural tendency of native society is, as was the tendency of the races of which that society is made up, for the strong to prey upon the weak. The European leaven has, to some extent, worked against this tendency, but it is not to be expected that fifty years of settled government, together with a smattering of English education, or more properly speaking, instruction, can wholly eradicate the habits of centuries.

When we consider the composition of native society, the wonder is, not that there is a seamy side, but that there is any other but seamy side. To take the bringing-up of a native child of the upper middle classes, or of the rural landlord class, we find that, from his earliest childhood, he is brought up in an atmosphere in which woman is little better than a prisoner, and in which a widow, whether she has ever been a real wife at all, or whether she has had some years of married life, leads an existence compared with which that of a prisoner is bright and cheerful. Deprived of all the home influences which surround the life of a child in other countries, the boy naturally gives to woman the place in the social scale to which, from his earliest infancy, he has been taught to relegate her. He sees nothing of the freedom of intercourse between men and women which forms the backbone of European society, and from this education arises an engrained contempt for the weak, which is an essential mark of the native character. This, in itself, would be enough to account for much of the tendency to get to windward of his neighbour which is natural to a native of India.

There is, however, another powerful factor which works towards establishing the tendency, and that more especially amongst those who belong to the upper classes of society. I refer to the caste system. A boy is brought up to consider, as absolutely beneath him, as something utterly below him in every relation of life, as, in fact, belonging to a different order of creation, any one who happens to belong to a caste inferior to his own. Surely this in itself is, to say the least of it, not calculated to inspire feelings of sympathy between the various classes which go to make up Indian society, and to qualify men for rule who are saturated from their cradle with such ideas. Even the emancipated Hindus who have renounced caste, show traces of their early training in the contempt they feel and often show for those who are uneducated. The pride of education is, of course, a more noble sentiment than the pride of caste, but whereas, in England, either a well-born or

a well-educated man is distinguished by a consideration for the feelings of those beneath him in either birth or education, there is little, if any, of the same consideration to be seen in India. The expression, "he is an uneducated man," is used towards his fellow man by one who considers himself educated with as significant a meaning as the expression, "he is but an oil seller," is used by a Brahmin landlord towards one of his tenants.

The most extraordinary part of this caste anomaly in a country for which political freedom is claimed by some, is the quiet manner in which it is taken by those who suffer from it. I do not merely refer to the uneducated peasantry, but to those whose education, one would have supposed, had taught them better. I know of an instance myself in which a man, occupying the position of a native gentleman and holding a Government appointment of trust and position, was bidden to a feast and submitted to eat his dinner outside the door as a pariah, whilst men, some of whom were his own official inferiors, were feasting within. If this be the case with men of position and education, it is not to be wondered at that the poorer classes of the community blindly acquiesce in their fate in life, and that, brought up to be despised by those of a caste superior to themselves, they are content to bow their necks beneath all kinds of oppression.

It is to this habit, bred in the bone of the poorer classes, of taking contentedly an existence of being bullied, that we are to look for the true reason of the petty tyranny exercised day by day over them, whether the petty tyrant be for the moment the landlord's steward, the money-lender, the police officer, the salt officer, or whoever of their own countrymen may happen to be for the time being clothed with a little brief authority over them.

It is a most significant fact that, in all the recent agitation that has been started for the purpose of redressing the wrongs of the "dumb millions," not one word has been breathed regarding social reform amongst the people themselves. Those who agitate for representative institutions know better than to bring a hornet's nest about their ears by calling upon their countrymen to reform from within. The fact is, they themselves are not wholly emancipated from the fetters of ancient custom which assigns to woman an inferior place in the social scale, and which condemns the great majority of the people of India to be regarded, and indeed to regard themselves, as something entirely inferior to the minority; to have their touch on food regarded as a pollution, and, in some instances, to know and acquiesce in the fact, that one of the lords of creation considers himself defiled by the shadow of a man of lower caste

falling on his path. This is the seamy side of native social society, and, until it disappears, it is idle to hope that things will be better for the majority of the people. The political privileges which are claimed, are to be enjoyed by the few. The condition of the many, of the "dumb millions," of whom we have lately been hearing so much, will never be materially changed until they can look upon their fellow men as equals in the scale of humanity, and are taught to give to their woman that place in the social scale which, in other countries, is barely withheld from convicted criminals.

ART. III—GOSSIP ABOUT PETER THE GREAT.

[Continued from the *Calcutta Review* for July 1891.]

THE next Thursday, the Tsar and Meijnert Arendssoon Bloem sailed up the Zaan canal. When their boat came opposite the mills, Peter again felt that longing curiosity to visit them that had given him so many pleasant hours in the happy days of his incognito. They first visited a starch-mill, then one where barley was husked, where Peter watched every stage of the process, from the moment the ears of barley disappeared in the mill, till the pearly grains poured out on the floor, and the golden straw, denuded of its treasures, was added to the rejected heap.

But all Zaandam was changed for Peter. Its charm had vanished with his incognito; and he was no longer Peter Baas the jolly carpenter, but Peter the Tsar of Russia, between whom and his Dutch friends a great gulf was fixed, so that none could pass over.

The rest of his stay in Zaandam is uninteresting, a mere story of transparent disguises and fictitious deceits that deceived no one; and Peter, soon wearying of them, left the little city of Dutchland 'for fresh fields and pastures new.'

One of the most amusing characters in Peter's reign is his "nigger-boy," who came as a present to the Tsar, and soon became a notable figure at his Court.

Later on, Peter sent his nigger, whom he dubbed Hannibal, to college, and made a scholar of him; finally he married his dusky favourite to one of the ladies of his Court, and their daughter, Olga, became in due time the wife of Serge Pushkin, and the mother of the greatest of Russian poets, Alexander Sergeëvitch Pushkin.

Pushkin was a great favourite with his old nigger grandpapa, who used to tell him tales of the Great Tsar Peter's Court.

Amongst these stories is the following:—

"Amongst other new fangled notions which the reforming Tsar wanted to introduce to his barbarous Russia, was the European fashion of shaving the face clean, an innovation that rightly revolted the feeling of the well-bearded Russ.

"One splendid and savage old man, the Prince Dolgoruki (the brother, by the way, of Mdme. Blavatsky's ancestor), flatly refused to accede to the new reform, and, after roundly abusing the innovating Tsar for his impiety, tore up the imperial *Ukaz* before the imperial eyes, and, if tradition lies not, actually went so far as to throw the fragments in the imperial face, telling the imperial law-maker flatly, that if he, Peter

knew no better than to make such idiotic laws, he, Prince Dolgoruki, would have no part or parcel in the matter, but would leave the Government and the Senate to look out for themselves, and betake himself to his own house, where he could till his land and grow his beard to his heart's content, like an honest Russian country gentleman, who rightly despised all Dutchifying-Frenchifying nonsense.

"Now Peter loved practical jokes, so long as he played them himself, but, like many another imperial humourist, his relish quickly melted away when the joke was turned against himself. However, Dolgoruki was too important and weighty a personage to be dealt with summarily, so Peter resolved to try diplomacy, and, going to Dolgoruki's house, put it to him, as a Prince and a Senator, that it would have been quite sufficient to defy the imperial decree, without adding injury to insult by tearing it up before the imperial face,

'Very true, Tsar,' replied old Dolgoruki; 'but I knew that if I tore it up, you wouldn't write such nonsense another time, if only through consideration for my age and fidelity.'

"The Tsar admitted the force of this reasoning, but still the imperial vanity had to be mollified, so he asked the Tsaritzza to advise Dolgoruki to make a formal apology to the Tsar at the next meeting of the Senate.

"Prince Dolgoruki flatly refused, and, the next day, in the Senate, contradicted and contravened the Tsar more determinedly than ever.

"At last Peter, seeing that nothing could be done with him, let the matter drop, and never recurred to it again, so that Prince Dolgoruki conquered, and the Shaving Act never passed into law."

Pushkin had a charming old aunt, Natalia, a delightful, gossipy, scandal-loving old lady, who had been at Court under Peter III and Katherine the Great. She used to tell her poetical nephew all sorts of stories about the Court, and the poor half-witted, soon to be dethroned Tsar, stories too charming to omit altogether, though not strictly connected with our subject; but, after all, our subject is "gossip," and it is the privilege of gossips to diverge from the point, and wander into all sorts of bye-ways and sidepaths, whither their humour leads them. One day, in August, Pushkin tells us, he paid a visit to the dear old lady, whose memory ran on the dethronement of Peter the Third by his strong-minded queen-consort, and she related her memory of it somewhat as follows:—

"Dear me! how well I remember it all! It was just before St. Peter's Day, we were driving to Znamenskoye,—my poor mamma, my sister Elisabeth, and I in one carriage; my papa (Count Ragumovski) and Vasili Ivanovitch (Chulkovi)

in the other. On the way, one of the Tsar's couriers stopped us, and, coming up to the carriages, explained that the Emperor (Peter III) had ordered us to come to Peterhof. My papa was going to order the coachman to drive there, but Vasili Ivanovitch said: "Oh never mind! don't go! I know what it is all about; the Emperor said he would send for the ladies some time, to come to Court just as they were found, even *en deshabille*. It's very likely he is at his jokes just before the feast of his patron saint!" But the courier begged my papa to come at once. They talked it over, and papa ordered the coachman to go straight to Peterhof.

"We came to the Palace. They would not admit us. A sentry pointed a pistol, or something, at us, through the window of the carriage. I got frightened, and began to cry. My father said to me: 'Enough! stop that! what nonsense!' and then, turning to the sentry: 'We have come by command of the Emperor!'—'Please come to the guardhouse.'

"Papa went, and we were taken to one of our friends who lived near. They received us, and, after an hour, a message came from papa for us to go to Monplaisir; we all drove off: my mamma in her dressing-gown, just as she was. We drove to Monplaisir; there were a crowd of ladies, all *en robe de cour*, and the Tsar with his hat awry, and awfully angry. Seeing the Tsar, I sat down on the floor of the carriage and cried: 'I won't go on board the boat for anything'—(for the Tsar's pleasure-boat was there). But they made me go. Count Münich was with us. We sailed as far as Kronstadt. The Tsar was the first to land; then all the ladies after him. Mamma staid with us on the boat, for we did not land with the rest of the party. Countess Vorontzoff promised to send a little boat for us. Instead of the little boat, we saw, after a few minutes, the Tsar and the whole company. They all hurried on board the boat again, crying that we were going to be bombarded immediately. The Tsar went away *à fond de cale*, with Countess Lizabeta Romanoona, and Münich, just as if nothing had happened, began talking to the ladies, *leur faisant la cour*. Then we went to Oranienbaum. The Emperor went to the fortress, we to the palace. The next day we were summoned to Holy Communion, and soon learnt all. We were very sorry for the poor Emperor. They still included his name in the prayers and thanksgiving. We bade him farewell. He gave mamma his mourning carriage with the imperial crown on the panels. In Petersburg the people took us for the Empress, and cheered us excitedly. On the next day, the Empress sent mamma a ribbon."

Dear old lady, how delightfully she shows us the lining of the great Katherine's famous *coup d'état*. History ought to have

been written by gossiping old grandmothers like this ; after all, the Father of History tells his stories in much the same style.

That was the unfortunate Peter III's last public appearance. What became of him, no one knows. At any rate he and his fiddle never more appeared on the stage of European politics.

Sometimes our old lady forgot her royal theme, and regaled her epic nephew with mere shreds and tatters of Court history. He has recorded them with the most charming grace and dramatic delicacy ; the talkative old lady, with her smiles and her wrinkles, her merry eyes and snowy hair, shines through every line.

"Potemkin (Katherine's minister) was very fond of me," she says, "I don't know what he wouldn't have done for me. Mashenka, my daughter, had a *maitresse de clavecin*. Once she said to me : 'Madame, je ne puis rester à Petersbourg.'—'Pourquoi ça !'—'Pendant l'hiver je puis donner de leçons, mais en été tout le monde est à la campagne, et je ne suis pas en état de payer un équipage, ou bien de rester oisive'—'Mademoiselle, vous ne partirez pas ; il faut arranger cela de manière ou d'autre.'

"Then Potemkin came to visit me, and I said : well Potemkin, I want you to arrange for Ma'm'selle somehow or other.' 'Ah, my dear, I shall be too delighted ; but what to do for her, I really don't know.' Well, what do you think ! A few days later they entered my Mademoiselle's name in some regiment or other, and gave her an officer's allowance ! You can't do that kind of thing now-a-days !

"Another day, Potemkin had come to my house. He asked me : 'Natalia Kirilovna, would you like some land ?' 'What land ?' 'Oh I have plenty of land in the Crimea.' 'How can I take land from you ? What am I to say about it ?' 'Oh, the Empress is giving it away, and I have only to suggest it to her.' 'Do, by all means !'

"I talked it over with Teploff ; he told me to ask Prince Potemkin for the plans, and he would choose the land. I did so. A year later, they brought me eighty roubles.

"'Where did the money come from, !' I asked. 'From your new land' they replied ; 'there are herds of cattle grazing there, and this is the money for them.' 'Thanks very much !'

"Another year went by ; Teploff said to me : 'Why don't you think about colonizing your land ? After ten years, it will be so bad that you will be fined for it.' 'Well, what can I do ?' 'Write a letter to your papa : he won't refuse to give you peasants for your land.' I did so : papa spared me 300 souls ; I settled them on my land : the next year they all ran away, I don't know why. Just at that time K— was after my daughter Mary ; so I said to him : 'Take my land in the

Crimea, it is only a nuisance to me.' Well, what do you think? They afterwards paid K— 50,000 roubles for that land. I was delighted to hear it.

"Potemkin came to bid me good-bye: I said to him: 'You can't imagine how uneasy I am about you.' 'Why, what about?' he replied. 'Why, you are younger than the Empress; you will survive her, what will happen to you then? I know you as well as I know my own hands; you will never consent to take a lower place.'

Potemkin thought a while, and then said: 'Dont be uneasy; I shall die before the Empress; I shall die soon.' And his presentiment was fulfilled; for I never saw him again.

"Did you ever hear about Vetoshkin? It's wonderful how no body knows him. I ought to tell you that Torjok was then a little village. The Empress afterwards made a good sized town of it. The inhabitants traded in (I don't know how you say it: ils faisaient le commerce des grains) bread-stuffs, is it? and carried them on boats, I don't know where exactly.

"Well, this Vetoshkin was in charge of one of those boats. He was a dissenter. Once he came to the bishop, and asked him to explain the dogmas of the orthodox church. The bishop answered him, that, to understand them, he should know Greek and Hebrew, and God knows what else.

"Vetoshkin went away, and after two years came back again. Just think of it, in that time he had managed to learn all that. He left the dissenters and embraced the orthodox faith. They talked about nothing else in town. I was living then on the Moïka, next door to Count Stroganoff. Rom lived with him as tutor; he was a very wise man; c'était une forte tête, un grand raisonneur, il vous eut rendu claire l'Apocalypse. He used to come to my house every day with his pupil.

"I told him about Vetoshkin. 'Madame, c'est impossible.' 'Mon cher M. Rom, je vous répète ce que tout le monde me dit. Au reste, si vous êtes curieux de voir Vetoshkine chez le Prince Potemkin, il y vient tout le jours.' 'Madame, je n'y manquerai pas.' Rom went to Potemkin's and saw Vetoshkin.

"The next day he came to my house again. 'He' bien monsieur?' 'Madame, je n'en reviens pas: c'est que véritablement c'est un savant.' I want to meet Vetoshkin very much. Schuvaloff gave me the opportunity of seeing him at his own house. I found two young dissenters there; Vetoshkin was engaged in a controversy with them.

"Vetoshkin was an insignificant looking man of about thirty-five, I was very much interested in their controversy. Afterwards, at supper, I sat opposite Vetoshkin. I asked him how he had managed to become so learned.

'At first it was very hard,' he answered, 'and then it got

easier and easier. Kind hearted people lent me books, Count Ivan Ivanovitch and Prince Grigori Alexandrovitch.' 'I suppose you find it very dull at Torjok?' 'Oh no, madam, I live with my parents, and all day long I am busy with my books.'

"Potemkin, who was fascinated with everything unusual, at last grew so fond of Vetoshkin that he could not bear to part from him. He took him with him to Moldavia where Vetoshkin took a local fever and died almost at the same time as the Prince. A very strange man was that Vetoshkin."

And so the dear old lady's reminiscences end.

Once, late in the evening, Peter the Great was coming from Moscow to Preobrajenskoe. At the gates they were changing the sentinels. The new sentinel made a favourable impression on the Emperor, by his open face, and tall, well made figure.

'What is your name?' asked the Emperor.

'Alexander,' answered the sentinel.

'A good name, too, and your father's name?'

'Ivan.'

'Not at all bad; and you have a surname?'

'A noble without a surname is like a peacock without a tail,' answered the sentinel.

The Emperor laughed, and called the sergeant:—'Ankudinoff! Put another sentinel on guard! I need this one? Alexander Ivanovitch, come with me!'

On the steps, they met Alexander Menshikoff, and other noble of the Court. Menshikoff was already in power, and had charge of the imperial household.

'Menshikoff! I have brought you a new namesake! He will make a fine chamberlain. Let us go to supper!'

And the Emperor and the others went in, leaving only Menshikoff and Alexander Ivanovitch.

'Go into the house!' said Menshikoff. 'It is not your turn to stay; get something to eat, and then look after your service?'

'But what sort of service? I understand soldiering, but I never was in the Tsar's rooms, and don't know anything about all that. Do you know what, Menshikoff, or whatever they call you, I don't want to come into the palace. Here I am a servant, but there I was a soldier. Here I shall have to go with messages, but there I was in honourable service, Here, never a quiet night's rest; there it was night about, as regular as prayers. Go and tell the Tsar I don't want to be a chamberlain. If I had known about it, I wouldn't have left the guard-house. My father and mother promised that I would be a captain and not a chamber-sweeper. I say, Menshikoff, or whatever they call you, go and so say!'

'Are you mad, man! If I go and tell the Emperor what you

say, do you know what will become of you? Off you go to prison, or to be shot as a rebel!

'I'm no rebel! I am a faithful petitioner: just you go and give my message. You are the messenger, are you? or is it your superior? Then go and tell your superior: I'll stick to what I say.'

'Blockhead you are!'

'I say, don't call names. Who are you? I am a soldier, and a noble too. So don't you presume too much; even,—even,—if I am not a soldier now, I'm still a nobleman; so take care, if you don't choose to take my message, I'll write it myself, for I have had schooling too!'

'What a temper you have!' answered Menshikoff. 'Just wait and—! Go into the house and wait for the Emperor's answer.'

'I'll wait where I am! There's more room here.'

Menshikoff went away. Five minutes had not passed when the Emperor came with his guests to the court-yard where Alexander Ivanovitch was waiting.

'What's this, Alexander Ivanovitch?' asked the Emperor, 'why do refuse my favours?'

The soldier repeated his request.

'You are right, Menshikoff!' cried the Tsar,—'he is a block-head! Why, if you are a soldier, the most you can ever expect is to be a captain; but if I make you my chamberlain, you may get to be a general! Off with you! Serve honestly and well and I'll make you a general.'

'You ought to be ashamed to make a fool of a poor nobleman Tsar! Would it be proper and right to make a general of Sandy, the son of a noble who has only three huts and an acre of cabbages?'

'And who has the making of generals?' asked the Emperor.

'The Almighty,' answered the soldier.

'How, the Almighty?' asked the Tsar.

'Why, if the Almighty doesn't let the soldier capture a gun, he won't be made a corporal, and then a sergeant; and if the Almighty doesn't let him take a standard from the Turks, he'll never be an officer; and if the Almighty doesn't let him take a town, he'll never be a captain; and without a big victory, not even the Tsar will make him a general!'

'You're a wise man, but you don't understand the Tsar's business,' answered the Tsar.

'Of course I don't! It's the Tsar's affair, and not mine!'

'Well, listen;' said the Tsar. 'You will become a general for your services. Not through favour or fancy, but for good and honest work.'

'That's right! very well, so be it!'

'Well, go on perpetual service now!' ordered the Emperor.

'Teach me the first time,' Tsar ; after that, with God's help, I'll take care of myself !' the soldier answered, and entered on his services.

Another of the Tsar's favourites was the buffoon, Balakireff. One day the Tsar went out hawking with his courtiers, all splendidly mounted ; Balakireff following on a sorry nag.

The huntsmen had each a falcon on his wrist, the buffoon Balakireff, a ridiculous tame crow.

Tsar Peter rode up to the buffoon, and asked him :

'Do you expect to catch anything with that fine falcon of your's ?'

'Of course I do, Peter !' answered the spoilt favourite. 'Will you give me your word of honour as an Emperor, that everything my falcon catches shall be mine ?'

The Emperor gave his word and the company rode on, the nobles in front with the Emperor ; Balakireff, the buffoon, jogging behind on his nag, his grotesque bird 'cawing' and fluttering awkwardly on his wrist.

The falcons hawked well ; the cavalcade galloped far ; and, at evening, as they were riding slowly homeward, the Emperor turned to Balakireff and said : 'You see I was right, after all, Balakireff ; I told you that fine bird of yours wouldn't catch much !'

'Wait a bit, Peter !' answered the buffoon : a grin spreading over his ugly face. 'Wait a bit, Peter ! we're not home yet !' Just then they were passing a village, a cluster of wooden houses with orchards, hay-stacks, and sheds.

Then Balakireff threw his crow in the air, and shouted and yelled at it till the poor bird took refuge on the roof-tree of a hut.

'First catch, Peter ; remember your promise !' cried the buffoon, with a malicious laugh.

Then, waving a stick at the crow and throwing stones, faggots, and imprecations at the wretched bird, he at last dislodged it from its refuge on the roof-tree.

After fluttering helplessly about for a minute or two, the crow alighted on a second roof, and the buffoon cried out again : 'Second catch, Peter ! Well done my good falcon ! Remember your word of honour, Peter, when the time comes to pay.'

A third time the stupid crow was dislodged, and again it lit on a house ; then, hopelessly loosing its head at the cries and yells of the buffoon, it rose in to the air and fluttered clamorous down the breeze.

'Don't forget your promise, Peter,' said the buffoon, riding up to the Emperor, with a grin on his ugly face.

'The houses are yours, you rascal,' replied the Tsar ; 'but this is the last time you will come out hawking with me.'

CHARLES T. JOHNSTON, C. S.

ART. IV.—THE HINDU DOCTRINE OF SPIRITUAL BENEFIT.

IT is generally held, as beyond question, that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, and that heritable right, as well as order of succession among heirs, is determinable by the test afforded by that principle. The ruling was laid down for the first time in the case of *Guru Govinda v. Ananda Lal Ghose* (5 B. L. R. 42) by the late Mr. Justice Mitter, and as there is a great deal in the Dayabhaga that apparently supports it, the doctrine has been accepted without question by the Courts of Law and by the legal public. That the greatest Indian lawyer of the age should have taken such an erroneous view of the Dayabhaga, is not at all to be wondered at, when it is remembered that he, like other members of the Native Bar, had to derive his knowledge of Hindu Law by reading the English text-books and translations on the subject. There is no arrangement whatever in the educational institutions of the country for the study of the original works under competent teachers; and English lawyers are very often appointed to teach Hindu Law out of the text-books of Mayne, Macnaghten, or Cowell. Though the late Mr. Justice Mitter displayed, in some of his judgments, a marvellous mastery over the Dayabhaga and other works of Hindu Law, it is evident that he never had an opportunity of studying the originals with the light of a commentary, or of such explanations as are given by the great Pundits of the country in the course of their teaching.

Hindu law books are generally written in the style in which an advocate argues a case; and the authors never intend or expect that their followers should accept every thing which they say in any part of their work. The author must discuss the subject as fully as possible; and, in order to do so, he supposes himself to be arguing in the presence of an adversary. Sometimes the objections which might be raised by the adversary are expressly studied; but very often the objection is not mentioned at all, though, by proposing an alternative interpretation, or by adducing stronger reasons, the author hints, that the position which he first, maintained is not altogether unassailable. It is this peculiarity in the style of Hindu law books, that renders them altogether useless as books of reference. The whole book must be studied with the light of a commentary in order to master it. Whatever was latent in the mind of the author is brought to light by

the commentator ; and without the help afforded by him it is simply impossible to go through the original.

It is well known that, when two reasons are given in the same clause, the reason last given by way of *साधक*, or additional support, is to be rejected if it be open to objection. But when several reasons are adduced, or when several interpretations are proposed of the same text, then the reason last given, or the interpretation last propounded, is to be accepted as correct. A single instance will suffice to shew, that these rules must be recognized in interpreting Hindu law books. In Chap. XI, sec. II, para. 30 of the Dayabhaga, Jimutavahana says : " It has been shown by a text before cited (sec. I, 56), that, on the decease of the widow in whom the succession had rested, the legal heirs of the former owner who would regularly inherit his property if there were no widow in whom the succession vested, namely, the daughters and the rest, succeed to the wealth ; therefore the same rule is inferred *à fortiori* in the case of the daughter and daughter's son, whose pretensions are inferior to the wife's." It is true that the daughter and daughter's son take the heritage after the widow. But if that is the reason why the estate of the daughter should be similar to that of the widow, then, as laid down by Jimuta in the passage quoted above, the daughter's son would take a similar estate. The fact is that the reason first adduced must be rejected as untenable, and the reason adduced in the succeeding clause must be taken as the only ground for the proposition, that the estate taken by the daughter and other female heirs, is similar to that taken by the widow.

Any number of instances of a similar nature may be cited to show that what is stated in the first instance, in a Hindu law book, is not to be accepted as correct, unless the second reason is given, in the same clause, by way of *साधक*, or additional support, in which case the reason first given is to be taken as the strongest in the opinion of the author. But the rules of interpretation to which I here refer are so well known, that it is hardly necessary to support them by citing authorities. That the rules in question have never been brought to the notice of the Judges of the Superior Courts cannot be any ground for ignoring them. The systematic study of the original works on Hindu Law is neglected altogether ; and it would have been a perfect miracle if such mistakes had not been made. Though it is true that the Dayabhaga and the Mitakshera are very difficult to master, yet nothing is easier for native students than to master the few short and simple texts on which the whole fabric of Hindu Law is based. But, instead of being required to study these texts, the native candidates for admission to the Bar of the High Court are made to chew

the dry bones of the law in the English text-books and translations, which are not only indigestible, but very often adulterated with foreign matter.

Throughout Chap. XI of the Dayabhaga, Jimuta has tried to establish the doctrine of spiritual benefit. But to one who has carefully gone through the treatise, it will appear that Jimuta very seldom relies on the spiritual theory only for his conclusion. In order to establish the heritable right of the son, the widow, the daughter, the daughter's son, &c., Jimuta has, in every case, quoted positive texts ; and has then referred to the capacity of the heir to benefit the soul of the deceased, as an additional reason, or what is called technically *साधक*. "It is not, therefore, correct to say that the spiritual theory is the sole foundation of the law of inheritance according to the Dayabhaga. In one place it is stated that there is no express text in favour of the great grandson's right of succession. But there are express texts in his favour ; and as Jimuta has ultimately admitted that the heritable right of all the heirs enumerated by him is founded upon texts, there can be no doubt that he was aware of the existence of the texts, though he has not quoted them.

The question still remains, why does Jimuta rely upon the doctrine at all, though by way of *साधक*? The fact is that the doctrine, as elaborated by him, is very ingenious ; and he is naturally partial to it. The doctrine was never elaborated before him in the manner that he elaborated it. "If Sapinda relationship," says Vijyaneshwara, "be alleged to be founded upon the connection arising from the presentation of exequial cakes, then no such relationship is possible with relatives connected through the mother in the mother's line, nor with the sons of brothers and others (Mitakshera I, 52). Aporaska, who wrote a century after, showed that brothers and nephews are Sapindas, even though the word be taken to denote connection through the Porvana Pinda. "That person," says Aporaska, "who gives the water and the cake to any of those paternal ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to present them, is a propinquous Sapinda of the deceased ; and the descendants of this person, who may give the water and the cake to any of the ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to give them, are also propinquous Sapindas of the deceased. Among these the uterine brother is a nearer Sapinda to the deceased than any other propinquous kinsman, because he presents the water and the cake to the same ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to present them. The nephew is a little more remote than the uterine brother, because the former gives a cake to his father, which has no connection whatever with the deceased (Aporaska Sanskrit College M.S. 472). Though Aporaska made a very

important step towards making the spiritual theory acceptable, yet there is nothing said by him to show that Bandhus could succeed on the spiritual theory. In this state of things Jimuta laid down a different order of succession altogether; and showed that the doctrine can be applied to the succession of all classes of heirs. It was a great triumph; and it was simply impossible for him not to make the utmost of it.

Whether reliance is placed upon texts, or upon the spiritual theory, the result is, in some cases at least, the same; and Jimuta and his followers could see no objection to relying, by way of साधक, on the spiritual principle for ordinary purposes. Modern astronomers very frequently make their calculations on the geocentric hypothesis, not that they have any faith in it, but because the result is, in a great many cases, the same whether the calculation is made on the geocentric or on the heliocentric theory. Supposing that the giver of the Porvana Pinda is the greatest of benefactors to the soul of a deceased person, the spiritual principle would, in some cases at least, lead to the same result as the express text.

Nothing however could be more erroneous than the supposition that the spiritual principle determines the right to heirship, or the order of succession among heirs. Jimuta himself has abandoned the theory ultimately (*vide* para. 33, sec. VI. Chap. XI); and Srikishen, in his commentary on the passage, says that, if heritable right accrued by benefiting the soul of the deceased person, then the person who gives Pindas at the shrine of Gaya, or the person who throws his bones into the holy water of the Ganges, ought to inherit before all others. It thus appears that Jimuta and his commentator ultimately abandoned the spiritual theory in the most unequivocal terms.

In connection with the spiritual theory, it ought to be remembered that the Porvana Pinda, which is the basis of it, is a sort of spiritual luxury. The happiness of a deceased person's soul does not depend absolutely on the Porvana Pinda. The most important Shrads are those which are celebrated within the year after a man's death. Unless these sixteen Shrads are performed, the deceased remains a *Preta*, or ghost. It therefore appears that the sixteen Shrads, ending with the Sapindakarana, are of much greater importance to the soul of a deceased person than the Porvana. If capacity to confer spiritual benefit had been the cause of heritable right, then the inheritance should go to the eldest son, or other person who is entitled to celebrate the Shrads which raise the soul of the deceased from the condition of *Preta*, or ghost, to that of a *Pitri*, or ancestor deserving worship; and the order of succession would in that case have been altogether different from that

laid down in the Dayabhaga or sanctioned by the sages. Even the orthodox Pundits of the country do not entertain any faith whatever in the spiritual theory ; and it has gained currency only on account of the circumstances referred to above,

In the very beginning of his treatise Jimuta has defined the term heritage as "wealth in which ownership dependent on relation to the former owner arises on the demise of that owner." If the spiritual principle had been the sole foundation of the theory of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, then Jimuta should have made ownership by inheritance dependent on capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased, and not on relationship to the former owner.

People in this country generally say পিতং দত্তা ধনং হরেৎ ; but this does not mean that the giver of Pinda takes the inheritance. Even supposing that the saying is a part of an authoritative text, it does not in any way support the position that heritable right depends on capacity to give Pinda. The meaning of the saying is that, if the heir is the person required by the Shasters to perform the sixteen Shrads, ending with Sapindakarana, then he incurs sin by neglecting to perform the same. There are texts which expressly lay down that the heir who takes the wealth of a deceased person without performing his Preta Shrad, incurs sin if he is the person bound to perform those Shrads, and it seems to me that the saying পিতং দত্তা ধনং হরেৎ means nothing more. At all events, the saying, even if it be authoritative, does not lay down that the giver of Pinda takes the inheritance.

There is no authority whatever in the texts of the holy sages for the position that power to benefit the soul of a deceased person is the cause of heritable right. On the contrary, there is very strong authority for the position that the power to give Pinda follows the course of inheritance. Manu says : "A given son must never claim the family and estate of his natural father. *The funeral cake follows the family and estate ;* of him who has given away his son, the obsequies fail." This text is very often cited in dealing with the law of adoption ; and it seems rather surprising that its significance, with reference to the doctrine of spiritual benefit, has not attracted the attention of the legal public. Even if Jimuta seriously laid down the theory of spiritual benefit, still no Hindu lawyer could accept it in the face of this text of Manu.

The order of succession laid down in the Dayabhaga is, in many respects, different from that laid down in the Mitakshera. But Jimuta has laid down a different order, not for the sake of the spiritual theory, but in order to reconcile the several texts on the

subject ; and also to make the order of succession symmetrical, equitable and complete. According to Vijyaneshwara, the several classes of heirs succeed in the following order :—

1. Agnate Sapindas.
2. Samanadakas.
3. Cognate Sapindas.

The Samanadakas are not expressly mentioned in the text of Yajnavalkya, which is the basis of the law of inheritance as laid down in the Mitakshera. But Vijyneshwara takes them as included in the class of Gotrajas and places them after agnate Sapindas, but before cognate Sapindas. If the text of Yajnavalkya be alone taken into consideration, then Vijyaneshwara's interpretations would appear to be perfectly correct, though some injustice is done to some of the propinquous Sapindas, such as the sister's son and son's daughter's son. But the order laid down by Vijyneshwara is not co-existent with the texts of Manu. The nearest Sapinda takes the estate of a deceased Sapinda according to the great sage, and cognate Sapindas cannot therefore be placed after Samanadakas, as Vijyaneshwara has placed them.

Jimutavahana successfully solved the difficulty. He proposed a new definition of Sapinda, which is based on the etymology of the word and not on any text. As defined by Jimuta, cognate Sapindas can be only of two classes :—

- (1) Daughter's sons of cognate Sapindas,
- (2) Sapindas of the maternal grandfather.

Jimuta placed the cognates of class 1 under the head Gotraja in Yajnavalkya's text, and the word Bandhu in the same text was defined so as to include the cognates of class 2 only. Samanadakas are placed after Bandhus. Thus all the texts are reconciled ; and at the same time justice is done to all the cognates, so far as is possible consistently with the texts.

Then, again, it should be remembered that the Mitakshera does not lay down any principle for determining the order of succession among the remoter agnate Sapindas. In fact, it is almost impossible to solve the question if the class Sapinda be held to include seven generations in ascent and descent. Jimuta, therefore, found it absolutely necessary to reduce the denotation of the term as much as possible. His definition includes only three generations in ascent and descent ; and there is no difficulty whatever in determining the order of succession of agnate Sapindas according to the Dayabhaga.

The main object of Jimuta was to reconcile all the conflicting texts with reference to the law of inheritance, and to make the order of succession complete, symmetrical and equitable, as far as is possible. In order to achieve this, he had to reject the meaning usually assigned to the term Sapinda. He has

shown that from the etymology of the word it follows that all those are Sapindas who are connected through the Porvana Pinda. In order to give additional strength to this interpretation of the term Sapinda, he has made some attempt to show that heritable right depends upon capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased. But the meaning assigned to the term Sapinda by Jimuta, is based upon its etymology; and the additional reason must be rejected, being superfluous and open to exception. Mr. Justice Mitter took an altogether wrong view in holding that Jimutavahana's main object was to establish the doctrine of spiritual benefit. Jimuta never entertained the most distant hope of establishing that doctrine; and nothing could have been further from his mind than to set up a principle the weakness of which must be patent to any one having the least knowledge of the Shasters.

According to Jimuta, the maternal uncle and the rest are Sapindas; and therefore inherit before the remoter agnates. But if the spiritual theory had been the sole foundation of the law of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, then the maternal uncle and the rest would not inherit at all. If all those between whom and the deceased some connection exists through the Porvana Pinda are Sapindas, then the maternal uncle and the rest are Sapindas, and, being such, they must inherit according to the text of Manu, which declares that the nearest Sapinda takes the estate of a deceased Sapinda. But even the heritable right of maternal relations he deduced from the spiritual theory. Jimuta strained all his power in doing so; and yet he failed, as he has himself virtually confessed at last. In para. 12, sec. 6, Chap. XI, Jimuta has based the heritable right of maternal relations on the texts of Manu and Yajnavalkya. In para. 13, Jimuta has said, by way of *shadhak*, that wealth of a deceased can be of use to the owner either by enjoyment or by being employed in acts of religious merit. When a man is dead, enjoyment is no longer possible to him; and his wealth ought to be taken by the person who would perform such acts of religious merit as were obligatory on the deceased owner during his lifetime. This explanation of the heritable right of maternal relations is at variance with the fundamental principles of the Dayabhaga; and there is no other alternative than to say that it is all by way of *shadhak*, and is therefore to be rejected as superfluous. When a man dies, his ownership in his property is extinguished, according to the Dayabhaga, and according to all the authoritative writers and sages. But the explanation which Jimuta has given in para. 13, sec. 6, Chap. XI, is based on the assumption that after death the soul of a deceased person has a sort of *quasi*-ownership in the property left by him to his heirs. The fact is that, if the

heir spends the wealth in giving Pindas to his ancestor, the heir alone can claim the religious merit of the act. If the Pinda is of such a nature that the deceased participates in it, then the soul of the deceased is benefited. But it is an admitted fact that the deceased does not get a share of the Pindas offered to his maternal ancestors. Considering all this, it is difficult to see what capacity the maternal relations have to benefit the soul of a deceased person. The fact is that maternal relations and paternal relations all succeed under special texts, as admitted by Jimuta himself in para. 33, sec. 6, Chap. XI, and not because of any capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased.

It may be said that the maternal uncle and the rest perform a duty which the deceased was bound to discharge in his lifetime; and in this respect they have the power to benefit his soul. But in the first place, Jimuta himself does not rely upon this line of argument; the additional reason put forward in para. 13, sec. 6, Chap. XI, is something quite different. It is simply impossible that Jimuta should have recourse to such reasoning. When a man dies, the duties enjoined by the Shasters cease to be operative on his soul. The rules contained in the Shasters apply to the living, and not to the dead. Were it otherwise, a shrad could not be performed on the 11th day of the moon, or other fasting day. But fasting and other acts of religious merit are enjoined on the living only. During a man's lifetime he is bound to perform the Porvana of his paternal ancestors, and, incidentally, of his maternal ancestors also. But the duty ceases to be binding as soon as a man is dead; and if after his death any other person gives Pindas to the same ancestors, he does so on his own account, and not as agent of the soul of the deceased.

The duty to perform the Porvana of maternal ancestors arises whenever the paternal ancestors are worshipped. When a man is dead, he cannot worship his paternal ancestors, and it follows therefore that, after death, the obligation to worship maternal ancestors can never arise. It is a great mistake to suppose that the maternal uncle and the rest benefit the soul of the deceased by performing the duties of the deceased. Jimuta does not put their right on that ground; but on the ground that wealth, in the hands of the maternal uncle and the rest, is likely to be used for the Shrad of maternal ancestors; and thus used in the manner in which the deceased himself would have used it in his lifetime. Jimuta has strained all his ingenuity to show that the spiritual theory supports the claim of the maternal relations. But Jimuta himself never expected that his ingenious suggestion would be accepted one day as sober truth.

It would thus appear that the claim of one important class

of heirs, recognized by Jimuta, cannot be based upon any capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased. The spiritual theory fails in every way. For, on the one hand, heritable right is found to exist in persons who have no capacity whatever to benefit the deceased person's soul; and, on the other hand, persons who perform acts most beneficial to the deceased are excluded. If the spiritual theory had been the sole foundation of the law of inheritance propounded in the Dayabhaga, then

- (1) The person who gives Pinda to the deceased at Gaya;
 - (2) The person who performs his sixteen shrads, ending with the Sapindakarna;
 - (3) The person who throws his bones into the holy waters of the Ganges;
 - (4) The person who gives his daughters in marriage,
- would all inherit before the giver of the Porvana Pinda, which is only a sort of spiritual luxury.

Capacity to benefit the soul of the deceased is not the cause of heritable right, nor does it determine the order of succession. If the spiritual theory determined the order of succession, then the givers of secondary Pindas would inherit after all the givers of primary Pindas. But according to Jimuta, the father's daughter's son inherits before the grandfather and paternal uncle. It cannot be said that the three secondary Pindas given by the former are of greater efficiency than the two primary Pindas given by the paternal uncle. For had that been the case, then the father's daughter's son would inherit before the nephew and nephew's son. It is said that Pindas offered to a nearer ancestor are of greater efficacy than those offered to distant ancestors. But there is no authority whatever for such a proposition. There is some authority for the position that primary Pindas are of greater efficacy than secondary Pindas. But there is no authority for holding that secondary Pindas given to a nearer ancestor are more efficacious than primary Pindas given to a distant ancestor. The fact is that the order of succession can be determined only by texts and by indications contained in texts. The spiritual theory is of little use for the purpose.

The actual decision in the case of Guru Govinda Shaha cannot be called into question. The brother's daughter's son and the uncle's daughter's son are Sapindas and Gotrajas according to Jimuta's definition of the terms; and are, therefore, entitled to inherit according to the texts of Manu and Yajnavalkya. What Mr. Justice Mitter said in his judgment in the case with reference to the doctrine of spiritual benefit, may therefore be regarded as *obiter dictum*. In several subsequent cases the doctrine has been applied for the purpose of determining the order of succession, and the result is hardly consistent with the Dayabhaga.

JOGENDRA NATH BHUTTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

ART. V.—HOW WE CROSSED THE SPLÜGEN.

THERE are two homeward routes familiar to all of us Anglo-Indians : that one most frequented of all, the Mont Cenis ; and that other over the St. Gothard, which conducts us to lovely Lucerne, seated on her own sparkling lake. But there is another, which, to those not pressed for time, presents the great attraction of a leisurely progress in one's own (hired) carriage, with pauses at all pretty spots for sketching or photography, and halts for the nights at cosy Swiss inns. And there is no question as to the relative advantage to health, in the fresh mountain air blowing round one all day, instead of the mingled stuffiness and draughts of the railway train, where peeps of the view are only obtainable now and then, and long tunnels carry one through, and not over, the glorious mountains. To those of our fellow-exiles, who, like ourselves, can take their time, and, leaving the St. Gothard route at Como station, make their way by that enchanted Lake to Chiavenna, and thence over the Splügen, this little sketch of our journey may prove useful, and may induce some to try this route next time the happy year of furlough returns.

A wet day at Chiavenna towards the end of May. Nothing can be duller, colder, or more dispiriting, especially when you have made all your arrangements over-night for a start, and expect to climb that rocky wall in front to-morrow. At that time of year only one *diligence* crosses the Splügen from Chiavenna, and it starts at about 2 A.M., so we, not caring to encounter the cold and snow at the unearthly hour at which it would reach the top, arranged to have a carriage for ourselves with two horses, and a third horse as far as the summit. All our boxes were to be put on behind, and we were to arrive at Coire next day, pass through it and on to Ragatz, some miles further.

So all was settled, and we hoped for the best as we retired to rest on the evening of the 26th of May. Alas ! the morning brought heavy rain and all our advisers said : "No chance of its clearing ; you must wait a day, very likely two days." Our hotel, the Conradi, was a large, homely, but comfortable one. It was almost empty, the season not having begun, the only occupants besides ourselves being an invalid American lady, on her way to Maloja in the Engadine, and a few of the Engadine hotel-keepers, hastening up to make ready for their summer visitors. Some of these come from the south of France where they "run" hotels during the winter, thus doing a good business.

But the silent halls and passages were cold and draughty to

us Anglo-Indians that wet day, and the coffee was extremely weak at our frugal breakfast. The day dragged its slow length along; meal-times were hailed with subdued glee, and several novels, from the mixed collection in the empty *salon*, were skimmed through, one by Balzac, *Le Peau de Chagrin*, being especially appreciated by one of our party. The American lady and I confided much in each other through the afternoon.

She was a lonely soul. Looking out of the window of our room into the piazza was more doleful than any thing else. At one side stands a big half-finished house, now going to decay. Nothing is so mournful as such a building, begun in hope, and never finished. No one has ever dwelt there; it has never been a *home*; no romance clusters round it; no picturesqueness attracts the artist, and when the rain drips over the bare walls, and the rows of empty window-holes stare vacantly at space, it would have taken a more "Mark Tapley-ish" person than me to have been cheerful at the sight. The Governor DeSalis, for whom it was built, never came to Chiavenna, I suppose. At all events there is nobody to live in it now.

Opposite rose one of those lovely *campanili*, or clock-towers, so common in Italy. It belongs to San Lorenzo, the principal church of the town. Chiavenna must be a very busy place in the season, as it is the starting point for two *diligence* routes, over the Splügen into Switzerland, and over the Maloja Pass into the Engadine. One gets to it by rail from Colico, at the end of the Lake of Como.

Next morning, May 27th, dawned bright and clear. The clouds were rolling up the hillside, and the sun shone cheerfully. We were not long in despatching our breakfast, and then the comfortable, if somewhat lumbering, vehicle rolled into the yard, and was packed and loaded.

We bade good-bye to our pleasant Swiss landlady and our invalid friend, and drove off, with much cracking of whips, out of the arched gateway, through the narrow streets, and up on the vineyard-covered hillside. The little children held up strawberries to us as we passed, the peasants were busy in their vineyards. Italian vegetation, Italian sunshine, Italian enjoyment of life were round us for the last time. We had spent a happy holiday in beautiful Italy and were loath to part with her, and climb the snow-clad Alps with our faces to the north. But it had to be done.

We had not been driving very long when a horseman overtook us, and stopped the carriage, and although he was no brigand, but a worthy serving-man of the hotel, yet his demand was for money! He brought a note from our landlady, begging for the fifty-franc note which, she said, we must have carried away by mistake in paying our bill. Pocket-books and purses

were searched, but no fifty-franc note was forthcoming, and, with much regret, we were obliged to send the messenger back empty-handed. I fear poor madame had some light-fingered retainer who picked up the note from the table while she was looking another way. We were very sorry for her.

In less than an hour we had left the vineyards and the valley, and were up among the chestnut woods, driving through cool shade, and passing picturesque villages, each with its old church and slender *campanile*. The mountains are round us, a noisy river rolls down beside us as we ascend, and we cross it every now and then. This is the Liro River, and it is up through its valley that we climb on our way. After eight miles of ascent we reach Campo Dolcino. It is a quiet village, above the chestnut trees and the pines. The valley, bare and green, spreads itself around, the Liro lying like a ribbon through the midst. Here we halt to feed the horses. As the little inn does not give any promise of good fare, we have recourse to our well-stocked basket, and enjoy our chicken, hard-boiled eggs, and bread and butter, with our bottle of Italian wine. The children gather round, and watch us with eager eyes—odd little creatures, pushing each other and grinning; the girls with a certain self-conscious air, the boys more frank. We threw our scraps down by the carriage, but they were too timid to venture to pick them up. However, as we drove off, there was a rush and a scrimmage, and the coveted morsels were soon carried away. It was here I made the lamentable discovery of two hats left behind at the hotel Conradi, and may mention that the excellent Swiss parcel post restored them to us at Lucern a week afterwards.

It was distinctly colder now, as we left the Liro far below, and climbed the mountain side by endless zig-zags. It is clever engineering, that highway. Up, up, the road, still twisting high over our heads, until we reach a splendid waterfall. We descend from our carriage and go to a small platform placed to view it from. The Madesimo River forms the fall, which is 650 feet in height. Boys stand ready to fling stones down the precipice in return for a few coppers. I know not whether the view above or below the fall exceeds in grandeur. Then down the rocky wall plunges the full-grown river and is half-blown to spray as it falls.

Every now and then we heard, as we journeyed, a hollow distant boom, sounding mysteriously from far across the wide valley. Our vetturino told us these were avalanches, dreaded word, and all through the day, in among the chestnut trees, and higher among the pines, out on the bare green slopes, and peeping from the snow-drifts, were little crosses,—sad mementoes of where some one had been overtaken and killed, whether by

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Every now and then we heard, as we journeyed, a hollow distant boom, sounding mysteriously from far across the wide valley. Our vetturino told us these were avalanches, dreaded word, and all through the day, in among the chestnut trees, and higher among the pines, out on the bare green slopes, and peeping from the snow-drifts, were little crosses,—sad mementoes of where some one had been overtaken and killed, whether by

avalanche, or snow, and the place where he died had been thus marked. The pious passer-by breathes a prayer for the soul of the unfortunate as he goes along. On again, and ever upward, we go. The pines are left behind, and there is now only the short green turf, dotted with the lovely blue gentian, the flower which grows only in high bleak solitudes and is such an embellishment wherever it appears.

And now the clouds, which have been pursuing us for some time, rolling up the valley behind, reach and spread themselves over the bare bleak mountain opposite. They are kind enough to avoid us as we climb and enter the first of a series of stone galleries looking like tunnels, made to preserve the road from avalanches. What white object is that, lying on the brown grass, all the vegetation which is left us now? It is snow. Yes, the first patch of dirty-looking, half-melted snow. The sun has hidden himself; we are wrapped in coats and cloaks; the wind blows keenly in our faces, as up, still, we go. Coming down to meet us, the *diligence* thunders by. There are no passengers, and the guard sits comfortably inside, peering out through the glass panes. Later in the year, no doubt, there are passengers enough, but the pass had only been open a week at this time, and the rush had not begun.

Through one after another of these gloomy galleries, with their square openings, through which we catch glimpses of the Liro far below us, we roll along, and always more and more snow greets our eyes, till at last it is all snow and dark mountain tops.

By the side of the road, at intervals, now stand square, dismal looking stone buildings, with small windows, and each surmounted by a belfry. These are Refuges for travellers caught in a snow-storm, and the bell is, during these times, regularly sounded to guide the wandering footsteps to the place of safety.

And now we enter a sort of valley among the mountain peaks. Our road, marked by wheel-tracks in the white waste, lies across it, and as we enter, down comes the snow, and we shut ourselves up in our carriage. Crossing this valley, and again ascending, the snow ceases, the sun shines out, and the frosty keen air is exhilarating. We enter a village, or small collection of dreary-looking cottages, where the Italian custom-house is situated. All around are the high mountains, wrapped in eternal snow. The sun sheds a bright gleam on the quiet street, where a few muffled-up children are gathering to see the fun.

We stopped here to water the horses, and had a little talk with the Italian soldiers who were loitering round the door of the "Dogana." Snow here is often up to the windows of the upper storey of the houses, and it falls during every month of the year,

except August. I pitied these poor fellows from sunny Italy, with their wives and families compelled to live in such a cold and cheerless spot. They complained bitterly of their hard lot, so much more dreary to them than to sterner mortals. After this we had still two-miles-and-a-half to ascend, amid ever thickening snow. The road could be distinguished only by posts peeping out alongside, and the cold wind drove the snow into the coachman's face. I could not help a tremor of fear. What if he went off the road, blinded by the snow, and plunged us into one of those deep drifts? Should we ever be able to get out of it; and if we did, how find our way to some shelter? Just then the carriage stopped, a tall stone was by the wayside, the boundary between Italy and Switzerland. We were 6,945 feet (just the height of Darjeeling) above sea-level. A man, who had been sometimes on the coach-box, sometimes walking behind, came up, and, detaching our third horse, proceeded to lead him away back by the road we had come. Thenceforward we should go down hill, and he would not be required.

I felt greatly relieved as, at a rapid rate, with drag well pushed down, we skimmed through stone galleries like those on the other side, and in a wonderfully short time left the snow behind us. The valley we now entered, that of the Häusernbach river, is bleak and bare. There is no fresh green, no trees, nothing but gloomy mountain-sides, down one of which, in perpetual zig-zags, we made our way. An avalanche had descended over our road a very short time previously; for, at each elevation, one below the other, were heaps of earth, stones, and turf, and men were clearing it away as fast as they could.

At last we got down to the bottom of the valley, and our road lay along by the river, always descending, till we reached the level of trees, and we were glad to enter a pine wood. A mile or two further, we enter the valley where the village of Splügen lies, dash through a tunnel, across an iron bridge over the baby Rhine, and pull up at the Hotel Bodenhause, in the glow of sunset. This hotel was empty also, only one other couple being there. It was very cold, and it seemed difficult to light a fire in our room. The smoke filled it, and we had to choose between shivering and choking. We took a stroll to get warm, and were full of admiration of the chalets, a sign that we were in Switzerland, and of the grand mountain tops which frown down on the valley. The Kalkberg is the most imposing. Cold as it was, once in bed under that enormous feather-quilt, the cold was no more felt, and a long day's drive in the open air makes a good sedative. So we only awoke to see the bright sun shining on the snowy mountain-peaks, and one's heart gave a jump of joy; for were we not to-day going to see the famous Via Mala, the road we had heard of all our lives?

After an early breakfast we started off afresh, having exchanged our carriage and driver with the other couple. The vetturini arranged it themselves, as they found a great advantage in each returning to his own domicile; and to us, of course, it was just the same thing.

For some miles our course lay down the Rhine valley, among pleasant shady trees. There were huge boulders everywhere, and now and then the whole hillside, in a very disorganized condition, seemed to be toppling over into the road, and I quaked a little until we got safely past.

This happened so often as to inspire courage at last. The camera, ready for use, reposed on the front seat, and many times was the carriage stopped when some exquisite peep of tumbling waterfall, far below us, came into view, or some curve in the road gave a glimpse of the far-away distances in front. Gradually the hills approached each other, and the valley contracted to a glen, called the Rofna Ravine, in which the Rhine forms a series of waterfalls.

The childish river is playing and frisking up here, and is a wild, high-spirited and happy being. We knew him well in later times, when he flowed majestically through German lands, and we had seen him at Schaffhausen, grandly descending those fine falls. It was in a new character we now made his acquaintance, and one equally charming.

Emerging from the wooded glen we reached Andeer, a considerable village, where the glen opens out into a sunny wide valley called the Schamser Thal.

Mountains abound, dark heads peering out over green shoulders, and everywhere are perched the little villages, up to what seems a quite inaccessible height. We noticed a great change in the village churches. No more lofty slender campanili, separate from the main building. Small gabled towers, heavily roofed and low, were the order of the day. Some were built entirely of wood. The valley again narrowed as we entered the Via Mala, a place of torture and punishment to our poor river. The dark limestone cliffs, 1,600 feet high, almost met in some places. The road runs along, now one, now the other of them, according as it can perch itself, crossing the gulf by three bridges, and piercing the solid rock by a tunnel. Far below, 160 feet below the bridge, in so narrow a crack that it seems impossible that a whole river can be buried there, fumes and rushes the Rhine. The thunder of its rage at its imprisonment fills the gloomy defile. One throws a stone down. How long it takes to reach the bottom! A few trees grow here and there, and the stone catches in their foliage, falls through, and splashes into the water.

More photographs were taken here, and lunch was eaten as

we sat on one of those wonderful bridges and gazed in awe and astonishment at the high and narrow walls around us. It is with a feeling of relief that we come in sight, after a while, of the lofty rock on which are the ruins of Hohen-Rhaetian, the most ancient castle in Switzerland, said to have been founded, B. C. 589, by the legendary hero Rhaetus, leader of the Etruscans.

Through another tunnel we sped, and met the *diligence* toiling up, followed by several carriage-loads of dusty folk, who stared at us and our camera with hearty goodwill. We soon reached Thusis, and, driving along the one street to the post office, we alighted, and took shelter in the hotel opposite the Post Hotel. A short rest was not unwelcome before our second start, and we now arranged that, instead of taking the direct road to Coire, 16 miles away, a route which offered no special attraction, we would make a detour of nine miles to Tiefencasten, sleep there, and go over the Schyn Pass next day to Coire and Ragatz. And we were very much pleased with that third day's drive, though it is, perhaps, less worthy of description than the two before it, and felt fully rewarded for our little detour.

That lovely summer afternoon is very vividly in my memory as I write. In a little garden under the trees were some iron tables and chairs, and here a rosy, good-humoured Swiss *mädchen*, with the dear familiar German on her tongue, brought us our coffee, rolls, butter and honey, and we ate and drank and felt refreshed. In front of us smiled the wide green valley, with the Rhine, calm again after its misery up above, flowing rapidly through it. Our river was having a pleasant time here we knew, and were glad because of it. Thusis is beautifully situated, somewhat resembling Interlaken, though smaller and more rural, and it hangs on one side of the valley, instead of being quite at the bottom. It looked very clean, and was busy polishing itself up for its summer visitors, as it is a *Kur-ort*, and has baths and springs and a *Kur-haus*. But it is not large enough to be very fashionable, and I should not like it to become so. I had rather it kept its sleepy, peaceful look at the foot of its grand mountains, and with the afternoon sunshine falling on its village street. Good-bye, Thusis, we leave you with regret. Some day, perhaps, we may spend a week or so peacefully here, exploring the many lovely walks and drives all around.

Our way now lay for nine miles through and up the valley of the Albula, an impetuous mountain tributary of the Rhine, by the Schyn Road, a fine piece of engineering. We had had so much of gorges and glens and waterfalls all day, that we took this drive with perhaps less enthusiasm, although some of the views were quite as charming as those we had seen in

Rofna Thal. At one bridge we paused for photography. The Albula roared far below, and a peasant child brought stones and flung them down. We were 250 feet above the water, so that the stone took a perceptible time in falling, and there was a good deal of fascination in the amusement. For the last few miles we climbed laboriously a steep hillside, passing villages, each with its church, perched up above us in every direction, and opposite us, across the valley, a fine waterfall streamed over a cliff. That Albula Valley reminded us much of Rangaroon, near Darjeeling. One had almost the sensation of expecting to meet a Bhutia going along with his wood on his back, and his *kookri* stuck into his belt. But nobody so wild met our view.

We actually found Baedeker at fault in one or two details of this drive. To be sure, it was only in "the small print," just a village or two wrongly placed, or some trifle of that sort. As a rule, he is splendidly accurate. As the sun was setting, we came in sight of Tiefencasten, deep in a hollow where three valleys meet, and where the Julia and Albula unite. There we were to stay for the night, and we discussed with our post-boy which of the two hotels we should put up at. Both were starred by Baedeker, so we on this occasion selected the second and less pretentious, called the Albula.

But poor Tiefencasten! I suppose it was once a pretty village, with its two noisy streams, and its church on a height overlooking the houses; but on that evening it was a melancholy spectacle. For, about three weeks before this, a fire had broken out, and burnt the whole place. Even the church was roofless, like all the other buildings, except the two hotels, and one or two cottages at the far end. Hardly a creature was to be seen. The inhabitants had been obliged to take shelter in neighbouring villages, or in the farms round about, and the empty hotels only added to the mournfulness of the scene. A very nice, clever little landlady received us, and we were soon provided with a comfortable room, and promised dinner presently. I don't think she was much accustomed to having ladies, as she had no sitting room, but the one we dined in, a ground-floor room, looking out on a roofed-in verandah, built over the noisy river. She gave us an excellent and well-cooked little dinner, and seemed to be ready to do anything she could for us. After this we went out on the verandah, and sat awhile, the river drowning our voices if we tried to talk. Presently other guests arrived, three men, and began their dinner within. When they had come nearly to the end of their meal, we were much amused at their drinking wine with their neat little hostess, touching glasses, while she made them a pretty curtsy. It was a pleasant little scene, as we saw it

through the open window, while drinking our black coffee. As regards mine host, far be it from me to slander any one, but I must say he looked like a loafer, and seemed to do nothing but prowl aimlessly about the village street. After it grew dark we were rather badly off for a room to sit in, so I finally retired to my own, which was clean and comfortable; and the river sang a lullaby. Tiefencasten is full of water-music, for the two streams run together just where the houses begin.

We were up early, enjoyed our cosy breakfast, and filled our luncheon basket afresh, though, as we were to reach Coire about one or two o'clock, we only wanted a small supply in case of need. Before we left, the *diligence* and extra vehicles came pouring in from Coire, for it is by this route over the Julier Pass that one reaches the Engadine. The *diligences* were filled. Who were all these neat Swiss girls, with their modest luggage, and all these young men, grave and business like? Why were they all bound for the pleasure resorts of the High Alps, so fashionable now? Our landlady informed us they were servants engaged for the hotels, and on their way up to prepare for the season, which would not begin for a fortnight later.

That day we crossed the Schyn Pass, 5,090 feet above sea-level. It was very cold, but not like the snow-covered Splügen. We noticed how the flowers changed as we ascended, and how the dandelions were in full bloom above, and were all turned into "clocks" below, while the gentian flourished at the highest point. Coire was not amusing. We had a civilized (and expensive) lunch at a large empty hotel, served by English-speaking waiters, half-a-dozen of whom fastened on us, glad to have a chance of a job, or even a remote hope of *backshish*. We were amused to see, when we started again, that all our luggage had been adorned with the very remarkable labels containing the name of the hotel.

We drove then through a fertile valley, in company with our dear Rhine, feeling very sleepy and tired, for about ten miles, and reached Ragatz in the evening, when our drive came to an end at the Quellenhof Hotel.

Ragatz is a *Kur-ort*, or health-resort, of the large and fashionable kind. The season began on the first of June, but July and August are the full times, and the place was empty enough on the Sunday that we spent there. They say they have as many as 50,000 visitors annually. It is situated at the mouth of a narrow gorge, where the impetuous Tammina rushes down to join the Rhine, and it contains monster hotels, and pretty shops, tennis courts, a *Kur-haus* where one drinks the water, listens to the band, or looks over the papers, and very nicely laid-out grounds. Shady paths, with plenty of seats, run far

up the hill sides, and there is a handsome colonnade for showery weather. On the whole it is an attractive spot, though we did not see it at its best that rather showery first of June.

But the really wonderful and interesting place is up the Tammina gorge, to Bad Pfäfers, two-miles-and-a-half away. We drove up this narrow, wild valley, to where an old and gloomy house is built right across from cliff to cliff. This is the old Bath-house, which was in existence before Ragatz. The precipices rise 600 feet on either side, and very little sunshine ever reaches this sombre spot. Now it is only the poorer classes who are accommodated here, as it is much less expensive than the hotels below. Passing through the house with a guide, we cross the river by a foot-bridge, and enter the gloomy gorge, a most wonderful and curious place. The wooden gallery on which we walk, overhangs the river, whose wild voice fills the space. Far overhead the rocks close in; a gleam of light falls through; we reach it, pass on into darkness again, and finally reach, in a more open space, a small bath-house, a vault built over the hot springs. The door being opened, volumes of steam rush out. On entering, one feels as if in a hot vapour bath, and one is glad to get out again. The water is clear, and free from taste or smell.

It contains carbonate of lime, chlorate of sodium and magnesia. Above our heads a narrow opening, which communicates with the mountains outside, is pointed out, and we are told that formerly the poor patients had to be lowered through this to the springs, before the gallery was built for their use. A terrible ordeal, one thinks it must have been. The water is carried down to Ragatz from here by a conduit, and loses two degrees of heat on its way, arriving there at a temperature of 95°.

The impression left on the mind by the rough, bold rocks, the gloomy ravine, the rush and fury of the steam, the utter strangeness of the whole scene, will not soon be forgotten, especially as, perhaps, the most successful of all our photographs was taken here, and remains to recall it to mind.

It was on the morning of our departure that we made this little expedition, and after lunch, with the gift of a charming box of chocolates (each of which was ornamented with a photograph of the Quellenhof Hotel) from the attentive and polite manager, we took our places in the unromantic hotel omnibus, and were rolled off to the railway station, *en route* for Lucerne.

Our carriage with its three horses had cost us francs 71-50 plus 65, total francs 137-60, in English money £5-13-0, including pourboires to the driver. We had the third horse only for the first day. Our hotel bills were not a great deal.

We had Cook's coupons, as an experiment, at all these hotels, except Tiefencasten, and there we only paid 17 francs for dinner, bed, breakfast, and lunch to take with us, which cannot be thought exorbitant. At the Quellenhof we had an exceedingly nice room, with dressing-room, and the meals were excellent. Cook's coupons are francs 12-50 each person per day, and this covers everything, except of course wine and bedroom fires. Altogether it was a most enjoyable, healthful little trip, and we quite wished we could have had time to do more travelling in the same way.

L. S.

ART. VI.—THE NEXT STEP.

PROBABLY every one will admit that a not very distant date is likely to see considerable changes in the system of Local Government in Bengal which we owe to Lord Ripon and his advisers. Those who hailed, in the Local Self-Government Act, a precious instalment of autonomy, and now regard that measure as justified on the whole by the results of a six years' trial, look to further progress and a wider application of the principle which underlies it. A very eminent authority, Mr. Toynbee, has recommended the gradual withdrawal of the appointment of official chairman of the District Board, and others are ready with even more sweeping proposals. Less favourable critics profess to see fundamental mistakes in the course which has been entered upon, and call for its modification or entire abandonment.

It will not be questioned that the system of Local Self-Government in India is an exotic. If it had any *raison d'être* at all, it is as the outcome of Western education and Western ideas imported into the country under British rule. The theory is that, having educated the people on Western lines, we are bound to give them Western institutions in order to satisfy the aspirations aroused by our teaching. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to consider the nature and history of the Western system which it is proposed to transplant. We should do well to ask ourselves: "Is the system of Local Self-Government, which we are introducing into India, a faithful reproduction of anything which exists and has been found to succeed in the United Kingdom?"

To listen to the "advanced Liberals of India," one would imagine that representative bodies, elected by a popular franchise, and unshackled by official or State control, had always, or for a considerable time, carried on Local Government in Great Britain. Such an impression would be as far removed as possible from the truth. The fact is that, at the time when Local Self-Government was introduced into India, and for many years before, the principal share in Local Government in rural England was vested in the magistrates of quarter sessions appointed by the Crown, and certain important branches of administration, such as the construction of bridges and the management of gaols, were entrusted to them, as the county authority, from the earliest times. In 1877 the chief control over gaols was transferred to a central department, as in India, but the Justices still retained the power of nominating gaol visitors. Other departments of Local Government,

which were originally managed, or supposed to be managed, by the elective parish vestries, were, by successive enactments, removed from their control and placed under that of the magistrates. Thus the English rural police was at first an elective body, consisting of the head-constables of hundreds and petty constables of parishes. The inefficiency of these guardians of the peace was notorious, and in 1856 they were replaced by the county police force, while the county magistrates were charged with the duty of levying the police rate, and, to a considerable extent, with the control of the force. Coming to communications, which in India are regarded as more properly within the scope of Local Government, we find that roads were originally in the charge of the elective parishes. It is a matter of history that their management did not keep pace with the growth of the wealth and civilization of the country. Macaulay's description of English roads in 1695 reads like a pessimist's account of our Bengal highways in 1891. He says, speaking of main roads:—"It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for wheeled vehicles; often the mud lay deep on the right and the left; and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire. . . . The markets were often inaccessible during several months. It is said that the fruits of the earth were sometimes suffered to rot in one place, while in another place, distant only a few miles, the supply fell far short of the demand."*

To remedy this state of things turnpikes were gradually introduced, but not much improvement appears to have been made by the time of Arthur Young's tour in 1770.

The parishes were not solely to blame for the bad state of the roads at that time, and it is not the object of this article to prove that the elective principle is inapplicable to Local Government; what it is desired here to point out is that, on the failure of the parishes to manage them efficiently, the control over roads was gradually transferred to the magistrates.

By an Act of 1773 the power of enforcing upon parishes the obligation to repair highways and footpaths was lodged in the hands of the Justices at petty sessions. The next step was taken in 1835, when an Act was passed to facilitate the formation of Highway Districts by order of the petty sessions, with the consent of the parishes concerned. The provision requiring this consent was removed by the Highways (England) Act of 1862, under which the magistrates at quarter sessions are empowered, on the application of five or more Justices, to form Highway Districts to be managed by Highway Boards. A

* *History of England*, Chap. III.

Highway Board consists of all the county Justices resident in the district, and of waywardens elected annually by the parishes comprised therein. The Justices determine the number of waywardens to be elected by each parish, and are empowered to appoint the waywardens in case of failure of election. Further, on a complaint being made to any Justice of a highway in a Highway District being out of repair, he may summon the Highway Board and the waywardens of the parish within which the road is situate, before the petty sessions, and, if they then refuse to repair it, may have it repaired at the cost of the parish. It is provided, however, that if the waywardens deny their obligation to repair a particular road, the question shall be referred for trial to the quarter sessions or assizes.

This Act, which has been widely applied, gives to magistrates appointed by the Crown a large control over roads situate within Highway Districts. Where effect has been given to it, the control of the parishes over communication has been reduced to the power of nominating a certain number of members of the Highway Boards, on which the influence of the magistrates is necessarily predominant. A later enactment, the Highways and Locomotives Amendment Act, 1878, is directed towards the gradual centralization of the immediate management of three important branches, the Poor Law, sanitation and roads, under one authority, the Boards of Guardians. It leaves, however, this centralization to be carried out at the discretion of the magistrates, providing that, in future, Highway Districts are to be made, as far as possible, coincident in area with Poor Law Unions, which are also rural sanitary districts, and that where they are so coincident, the rural sanitary authorities, that is, the Boards of Guardians, may apply to Justices at quarter sessions to have the functions of the Highway Boards transferred to them.

To this request the Justices may accede, or not, as they see fit. The magistrates, again, are ex-officio Poor Law guardians, furnishing not more than one-third of the members of every Board ; and in the election of the remaining members, they are given a powerful voice by a system of cumulative votes. The quarter sessions are also given powers for compelling the highway authority to carry out the repair of roads where complaint is made of their being neglected.

The Acts above mentioned are of a permissive character ; for it is not in England, as in India, a custom of legislation on such subjects to impose at once systems of uniform pattern on localities widely differing in their circumstances and needs.

The extent to which the Highway Board system has been adopted by the magistrates, in supersession of the parish manage-

ment of roads, is a fair measure of its popularity and efficiency. The last Annual Report of the English Local Government Board shows that, at the commencement of the year ended on the 25th March 1888, there were in England and Wales 7,197 parishes, containing 62,684 miles of roads, subject to the jurisdiction of Highway Boards constituted under Highway Acts; 727 parishes, containing 6,796 miles of roads, included in Highway districts managed by Boards of Guardians under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878; and 6,521 parishes, containing 48,380 miles of roads, not included in any Highway District.

The administration of the Poor Law was at first vested in the parishes. By the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1837 it was made over to the Boards of Guardians, the constitution of which has been described.

Again, in ancient times, the parish vestry was supposed to put down nuisances, and superintend rural sanitation. It would be tedious to enumerate the series of measures passed with the object of substituting for them a more efficient agency. Eventually, by the Public Health Acts of 1872 and 1875, the Boards of Guardians were made sanitary authorities in rural districts.

It suffices to mention the management of Lunatic Asylums, the administration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, the licensing of houses for the sale of liquor and for music, dancing, &c., as other important branches, which, prior to the passing of the English Local Government Act of 1888, were vested in the county magistrates. It was indeed remarked at that time, that the sphere of their activity seemed to be constantly enlarged with every fresh development of Local Government in rural areas.

The demand for representation in Local Government was not the outcome of general dissatisfaction with the magistrates' administration. On the contrary, it affords a striking testimony to their competency, that their control remained so long undisputed in a country like England, with a public which had been accustomed for centuries to popular representation in matters of Imperial Government,—Financial, Legislative and Executive. It was, however, inevitable that the demand should be made and it is instructive to observe how it was met.

For years before the passing of the New Local Government Act, the subject had engaged the attention of practical thinkers at home, and a feature of the literature dealing with it is, the prominence given to practical considerations. We do not find sweeping changes advocated on merely theoretical grounds—the problems thought out are, how far an effective and trustworthy working agency could be provided by the elective method, and how far it was safe to dispense with the existing

and known agency. It was generally agreed that the magistrates could not be excluded from the scheme of Local Government. Their control over local administration was theoretically indefensible ; it was in direct opposition to the elective principle, to the principle of taxation and representation going hand in hand ; still they and their works were known by practical experience, they were generally trusted by the public, they were the backbone of the rural system of Local Government as it then existed, and practical reformers would not attempt to eliminate them altogether.

Accordingly we find in the new measure that, while certain functions are made over to the elective county councils, other very important ones are not directly transferred to them. The Act does not give them any control over highways, with the exception of *main* roads,—certain disturnpiked roads, and some others, of which half the cost is, under the Highways and Locomotives (Amendment) Act, 1878, chargeable to the county at large ; nor is the department of sanitation transferred by the law from the Boards of Guardians ; while the duties of the quarter sessions with respect to police are vested in a joint committee of that body and the county council, a very wide power is given to the Local Government Board to transfer by provisional order to particular county councils other functions and powers of the quarter sessions and other authorities affecting local matters. Every such order is, of course, liable to be opposed in Parliament, and we may be sure that this power of transfer will be sparingly and cautiously exercised.

Such being the history and course of the development of Local Government in England, we may well admire our Indian Local Self-Government which, without development and without history, sprang into being like Athena from the brain of Zeus. For boldness of conception, at any rate, nothing, it would seem, could surpass a scheme which proposed to confer on a population, among whom the elective principle was an outlandish novelty, a system more democratic than any that was at that time known in the mother country, more so even than that which has been since introduced, but has not yet had a fair trial there. We are now, however, concerned with the results of the scheme. Our admiration for its boldness may be tempered by the reflection that, probably the practical men in India who gave their acquiescence to it, knew that, for the present, at any rate, it would have little practical effect. Everyone conversant with the subject is aware that, so far, the Local Government of Rural Bengal has been representative only in name. In point of fact the Local Boards have little or no independent power, and on the District Boards all initiative and executive force is centred in the official chairman.

This is because the classes from which the members of the Boards are drawn are still used to defer to official opinion on public questions, and are not yet accustomed to incur responsibility and exercise independent judgment.

The history of the so-called Local Self-Government in Bengal up to the present time is an example of how fair success may be obtained under the most anomalous and irrational system, if scope be allowed to a strong and trustworthy individual will in shaping the result. Here the will is that of the District Officer, who at present owes the strength of his position not so much to law as to prestige, and to the habit of the Indian public of following an official lead. This being so, it is indeed a strange proposal to eliminate the factor upon which, both before and since the introduction of the new system, the success of our Local Government has hitherto depended. Nothing, we venture to assert, could be more opposed to the spirit in which reform has been carried out at home, than hastily to discard an agency which is known and trusted, in favour of one which has never yet been really tried, and the efficiency of which is a mere matter of conjecture. The advocates of such a change themselves admit that hitherto all the work of the Boards has been actually done by the official chairmen, and allege this as a reason for the withdrawal of the latter, in order to give Local Self-Government a real trial.

We would point to the letter of the law as it now stands, under which the chairman is merely an agent bound to carry out the wishes of the Board. Had the elective and nominated members of the Boards developed any real capacity for government, we should not find the official chairman compelled to take the initiative in every branch in order that business may be carried on at all; and we may rest assured that, though non-official chairmen sufficiently capable and trustworthy might be found, they would not possess the prestige and influence upon which, as has been said, the magistrate-chairmen now chiefly depend.

We would go further and say that it is not probable that District Officers themselves will much longer be able to carry on Local Government by prestige, unsupported by law. So far our system has been saved, so to speak, by its very absurdity, by the complete unfamiliarity of electors and elected with the theory and practice of Self-Government. It is likely that, in the more advanced districts, the elected members of Boards will gradually gain the knowledge of their real power, and the courage to use it, and that the authority of the chairmen will, by degrees, be weakened. It is then that the real difficulties and dangers arising from an uninstructed and apathetic electorate will begin.

THE NEXT STEP.

To take the first and most obvious of them; when the members of the Board begin to exercise a real control over its funds, we shall probably find unscrupulous persons seeking election with a view to corrupt pecuniary profit. This is the ruling vice of all elective government, and it exists in a less or greater degree in proportion as public opinion is weak and diseased, or strong and sound, and as the electors take an intelligent interest in the proceedings of their representatives, or are ignorant and indifferent. We do not think it will be contended by the most ardent friends of Local Self-Government, that the mass of the rural electors in Bengal have as yet shown much enthusiasm in the exercise of the franchise. That no great fault can be found with the character and standing of the candidates elected, is due chiefly to the fact, that as yet a seat on the Local or District Board is sought as an honorary distinction, and not for any power it confers. The persons who so esteem it are few in number, and usually wealthy and respectable. When we find that, in such advanced districts as Hooghly and Howrah, only 29'3 and 22'28 per cent. respectively of the registered voters voted at the last general election of members of Local Boards, it being certain, moreover, that a considerable proportion of the persons qualified to vote are not borne on the registers, it is evident that no appreciable public interest is at present felt in the elections.

If the status and education of the class of people in this country who come within the elective qualification, and the state of feeling amongst them on questions of public interest be considered, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that there is no guarantee that, in the future, public opinion will secure the return of trustworthy and respectable members to the Boards.

We are not among those who hold that the elective principle must always be inapplicable to this country, or even that it is entirely so at present. Mr. Carstairs in his recent book, "*British Work in India*," has argued that this must be so, because "the people are not of equal fighting value." For our part, we are not prepared to accept unreservedly the theory that civilized Government is based on the imposition of the will of the strongest, physically or numerically. So far as India is concerned, the postulate of the paramount British power excludes the ultimate appeal to force which is the foundation of that theory. Moreover, in all examples of practical Government, it is found that the educated and enlightened classes enjoy a share of political power greater than is proportionate either to their numbers or to the physical force at their disposal.

We can regard no scheme of Local Government for Bengal as satisfactory which does not meet, to some extent, the aspirations,

undoubtedly and legitimately felt, by a small, but important educated section of the inhabitants, for a real share in the management of local affairs. This is, however, no reason for forcing upon the masses of the people an autonomy for which they have made no demand and possess no qualifications. The share of Local Self-Government entrusted to the educated minority should be, as far as it extends, a reality and not a mere make-believe; but it should be restricted at first to certain departments only—those which the educated classes are likely to take an interest in and manage efficiently. For the present, at any rate, and until real Self-Government has been tried and found to succeed, some of the most important branches of administration had better be retained in the tried and trusted hands of the District Officers.

The ignorant majority, who are not yet fit for Self-Government, must be protected and not placed at the mercy of the educated classes in any respect in which their interests are opposed, or the former are not likely to feel confidence in the administration of the latter. Lastly, any changes introduced must be such as not to disturb, more than is necessary, the existing executive machinery of Local Government, which has been brought into working order at considerable trouble and with a fair degree of success. It is not possible, in the limits of an article such as this, to discuss by what means these requirements may be obtained. Our object will have been so far gained if we have brought our readers to recognize the fact, that the problem of Local Self-Government in Bengal still awaits solution; that it cannot be treated as solved because a system bearing but the name, has been worked for some years through the exertions of the District Officers, who have been its real motors; and that the solution, to be successful, must be based on practical considerations, and not on grounds of theory or sentiment.

M.

ART. VII.—THE COINAGE OF AKBAR AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

ON the day of Akbar's accession—the 15th February 1556—Royal Firmáns were issued, under new titles, and gold and silver money was coined in the name of the new king. The graphic pen of Abul Fazl thus describe the occasion :—

چون سکه بنام شه پیراسته شد * در چشم ستاره قدره کاسته شد
دینار بسرخ افروخته گشت * درهم بسفید روی آراسته شد

Coin was so embellished by the name of the king,
That, in the eye of stars, the estimation of moon was lowered :
The *dinár* got brightened by the redness of its face,
The *darham* became beautified by the whiteness of its color.

Regulation 10 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* gives a full description of the coins of Akbar's time. The following are mentioned :—

Gold Coins.

1.—The *S'hansáh*—A round coin weighing 101 tolás 9 mashás and 7 surkhs, valued at 100 Láli Jalali mohars.

Obverse :

On the field :—The name of His Majesty. On the 5 arches in the border :—

انسلطان الاعظم الخاقان المعظم خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه ضرب دار الخلافه اگرة

"The great Sultan, the honoured Emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign. Struck at the capital Agra."

Reverse :

On the field :—

لااله الا الله محمد الرسول الله وان الله يرزق من يشاء وبغير حساب

"There is no God but God and Mohamad the Prophet of God. Verily God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, beyond measure."

Round the margin are the names of the first four Khalifs.

The following additions were afterwards made :—

Obverse :

افضل دينار من ينفقه الرجل دينارون ينفقه على اصحابه في سبيل الله

"The best coin which a man expends, is a coin which he spends on his co-religionists in the path of God."

Reverse :

السلطان العالي الخليفة المتعالي خلد الله تعالى ملكه وسلطانه وابد عدله واحسانه

"The Sublime Sultan, the exalted Khalif, may God the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and give eternity to his justice and bounty !"

Later on these inscription were replaced by the following two quatrains of the Court poet and philosopher Shekh Fyzi, elder brother of Allámí Abúl Fazl :—

On one side :—

خورشید که هفت بحر از گوهر یافت * سنگ سیاه از پرتو آن جوهر یافت
کان از نظر تربیت از زر یافت * و آن زر شرف از سکه شاه اکبر یافت

“The seven oceans get their pearls from the sun.
The black rock produces gems from his lustre
The coins get their gold from his fostering view,
But that gold acquires pre-eminence through the stamp of Akbar.”

In the centre :—

الله اکبر جل جلاله

“God is great ; may his glory shine forth.”

On the other side :—

این سکه که پیرایه امید بود * با نقش دوام و نام جاوید بود
سیمای سعادتش همین بس که بدهر * یک ذره نظر کرده خورشید بود

“This coin, which is an ornament of hope,
Carries an everlasting stamp and an immortal name.
As a mark of its auspiciousness, it is sufficient
That once for all ages the sun has cast a glimpse upon it.”

In the centre :—

The month and year of coinage according to the Divine Era.

2.—There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 91 tolás and 8 mashás, in value equal to 100 round Mohars at 11 *mashás* each. The superscription is the same as that on the preceding.

3.—The *Rahas*—Is the half of each of the two preceding coins. Sometimes it is made square. The superscription on one side is the same as in the S'hansáh ; while on the other is inscribed the following quatrain of the *Poet Laureate* Fyzi :—

این نقد روان گنج شاهنشاهی * با کوب اقبال کند همراهی
خورشید به پرورش از آن رو که بدهر * یابد شرف از سکه اکبر شاهی

“This current coin of the Imperial Treasure,
Goes hand in hand with the star of good fortune.
The sun has fostered it, because for all ages
It will be ennobled by Akbar's stamp.”

4.—The *Atmah*—Is both a round and a square coin, and is the fourth part of the S'hansáh. Some bear the same inscription as the S'hansáh ; others have on one side the following quatrain of Fyzi :—

این سکه که دست بخت را زیور باد * پیرایه نه سپهر و هفت اختر باد
زرین نقدیست کار از چون زرباد * در دهر روان بنام شاه اکبر باد

“May this coin, which is an ornament in the hand of fortune,
Adorn the nine heavens and the seven stars !
Inasmuch as it is a coin of gold, let it give rise to golden works
And obtain currency in all ages in the name of the King Akbar.”

Twenty-two other coins—called *Mihrabī*, *Aftabī*, *Ilahī*, *Lāli Jalālī*, *Moinī*, *Salīmī*, &c.—are mentioned, but it is not necessary to detail them all. None of these bears any inscription of couplet or quatrain on it; but they have ordinarily, on one side, the inscription:—

الله اكبر جل جلاله

“God is great; may His glory shine forth.”

And on the other the words يا معين

“O Helper.”

Mr. C. J. Rodgers, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, mentions a Gold Mohar of Akbar struck at Agra in the 49th of the Divine year. It bears the following inscription:—

ضرب اُگره

اسفندا رمز ۴۹ الهی

مهر مهر شاه اکبر ابروی این زرست * تا زمین و آسمان را مهرانور زیورست

“The sun of the seal of King Akbar is the honour of this gold (coin), As long as the earth and the sky are adorned by the brilliant sun.

Struck at Agra Isfandarmuz, 49 Ilahi year.”

Silver Coins.

The rupee of Akbar was round, and weighed eleven māsās and a half. It was an imitation of the silver coin introduced by Sher Khan Pathan, and had on one side the words:—

الله اكبر جل جلاله

“God is great; may His glory shine forth.”

and, on the other, the date.

There was also a Jalala rupee, of square form, introduced in the time of Akbar, the same, in value and stamp, as the round rupee previously mentioned.

The following silver coins are also mentioned in the *Ain-Akbarī*:—

| | | | |
|--------|-----|----------------|--------------|
| Darh | ... | $\frac{1}{2}$ | of a Jalala. |
| Charn | ... | $\frac{1}{4}$ | ” ” |
| Pandan | ... | $\frac{1}{3}$ | ” ” |
| Asht | ... | $\frac{1}{8}$ | ” ” |
| Dasa | ... | $\frac{1}{10}$ | ” ” |
| Kala | ... | $\frac{1}{6}$ | ” ” |
| Suki | ... | $\frac{1}{20}$ | ” ” |

A rupee bearing the following couplet, was struck at Allahabad in the 44th or 45th year of the reign:—

Obverse:— همیشه همچو زر مهر و ماه رایج باد

Reverse:— بغرب و شرق جهان سکه اله آباد

“May the coin of Allahabād be always current in the East and West of the world, like the golden disk of the sun.”*

* *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, No. 1 for 1888.

Most of the round silver rupees of Akbar had in the centre the *Kalmá*, or Mohammadan confession of faith, and in the margin the inscription:—

بصدق أبي بكر بعدل عمر بهيماي عثمان بعلم علي

“By the truth of Abu Bakr, the justice of Omar, the modesty of Othman and the learning of Ali.”

And on the other side:—the name of the King

جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازی

“Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah i-Ghazi,”

and the place and year of coinage.

Coins of Jahangir.

Prince Salim, the son of Akbar, ascended the throne at Agra in the year 1605, under the title of Núruddín Muhammad Jahángir. Regarding the striking of his coins, the Emperor writes in his autobiography:—

“At an auspicious hour, I ordered that coin of gold be struck. Gold and silver coins of different weights were struck; and to each denomination I gave different names. Thus, a Gold Mohar of 100 tolás was named:—

| | | |
|------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| نور شاهي | “Splendour of royalty,” | of 50 tolás, |
| نور سلطاني | “Splendour of the king,” | of 20 tolás, |
| نور دولت | “Splendour of wealth,” | of 10 tolás, |
| نور كرم | “Splendour of bounty,” | of 5 tolás, |
| نور مهر | “Splendour of the sun,” | of 1 tolá, |
| نور جهاني | “Splendour of the world,” | of $\frac{1}{2}$ tolá, |
| نوراني | “Bright,” | of $\frac{1}{4}$ tolá, |
| روحي | “Current.”— | |

To silver coins the following names were given:—

| | | |
|------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| 100 Tolas, | كوكب طالع | “Star of fortune.” |
| 50 ” | كوكب اقبال | “Star of dignity.” |
| 20 ” | كوكب دراه | “Star of hope.” |
| 10 ” | كوكب بخت | “Star of fate.” |
| 5 ” | كوكب سعد | “Star of prosperity.” |
| 1 ” | جهانگیری | “Jahángiri.” |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ ” | سلطانی | “Sultáni.” |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ ” | نثاری | “Nisári.” |
| $\frac{1}{10}$ ” | خمر قبول | “Khair Kabul.” |

Copper coins likewise received names—

On gold coins of 10 tolás and more the following legend, composed by Asif Khan (or Asif Jáh), was inscribed:—

بخط نور بر زر ملك تقدير * رقم زه شاه نورالدين جهانگیر

"In the characters of light, the divine pen wrote on gold
The name of Núruddín Jahángir the King "

Between the two lines was the *Kalmá*, or Mohammadan confession of faith, and on the reverse the following couplet and the date :—

شد چو خور زین سکه نورانی جهان * آفت—اب مملکت تاریخ آن

"The world became illuminated by this coin as by the sun,
(Hence) The date of it is—, the sun of state."—

Between the two lines was inserted the place of coinage, the date of Hijri year, and the date of accession.

On Núrjaháni gold mohars and round and square rupees struck at the mints of Lahoré, Delhi, Agra, and Kashmir, the following couplet, composed by Amir-ul-umera Asif Jáh, was inscribed :—

Obverse : روی زر را ساخت نورانی چو رنگ مهر و ماه

Reverse : شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

"The King Núruddín Jahángir, son of the King Akbar,
Has made the face of gold to shine like the sun and moon."

Various coins were struck at Lahore at different periods. The rupees had the following couplets :—

(1) زر لاهور شد در ماه بهمن چون مه انور * بدور شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن شه اکبر

"In the month of Bahman, the gold of Lahore became luminous like the moon,
In the reign of the King Núruddín, son of the King Akbar."

(2) در اسفندارمز این سکه در لاهور زن بر زر * شهنشاه ام شاه جهانگیر ابن شه اکبر

"In the month of Isfandarmuz, this coin was struck in gold at Lahore,
By the monarch of the people, Jahángir, son of the King Akbar."

(3) به ماه تیر در لاهور زن این سکه را بر زر * پناه دین ملک شاه جهانگیر ابن شه اکبر

"In the month of Tír, stamped this coin on gold at Lahore,
The asylum of the faith, King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar."

(4) مه اُردی بهشت این سکه در لاهور زن بر زر * شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگیر ابن شه اکبر

"In the month of Urđi Bahisht, stamped this coin on gold at Lahore
The monarch of the age, the King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar."

(5) بدهر باد روان تا فلک بود در دور * بنام شاه جهانگیر سکه لاهور

"So long as the sky continues to revolve,
May the coin of Lahore be current in the world in the name of King Jahángir."

(6) بفروردین زر لاهور شد رشک مه انور * ز نور سکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شه اکبر

"In the month of Farwardín, the gold of Lahore became an object of jealousy to the luminous moon,
Through the light of the coin of King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar."

- (7) ز نام شاه جهانگیر شاه اکبر نور * همیشه بادا بر روی سکه لاهور
 "Through the name of King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar,
 May the coin of Lahore ever remain bright."

The following coins were struck in the mint of Agra :—

- (1) سکه زن در شهر اکبر خسرو گیتی پناه * شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

The King, asylum of the world,
 Núruddin Jahángir son of the King Akbar,
 Stamped this coin in the city of Akbar."

- (2) یافت در آگره روی زر زبور * از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

The face of gold was adorned at Agra,
 Through King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar.

The *Túzak Jahángiri*, published by Sir Syad Ahmad Khan, in 1864, at Aligarh, at page 227, gives illustrations of this coin. Coins of 12 descriptions, bearing each the signs of the zodiac, were struck. On the reverse was the couplet above-mentioned and on the obverse one of the 12 signs of the Zodiac :—

- (3) سکه آگره یافت زینت زر * از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

The coin of Agra was endowed with the beauty of gold,
 Through King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar.

- (4) در مه آبان باگره سکه زن ظل الله * شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

In the month of Abán, stamped this coin at Agra,
 The shadow of God, King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar."

- (5) در اسفندار مزاین سکه را در آگره زن بر زر * شهنشاه ام شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر
 In the month of Isfandarmuz, this gold coin was stamped at Agra,
 By the monarch of the people King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar.

- (6) بفروردین زر آگره فروزان گشت چون اختر * ز نور سکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر
 In the month of Farwardin, the gold of Agra became brilliant like the
 star,
 Through the splendour of the coin of King Jahángir, son of the King
 Akbar,

The following couplets were inscribed on the coins of the Ahmadábád mint :—

Rupees.

- (1) سکه زن در احمد آباد از عنایات اله * شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

Through the blessing of God,
 The King Núruddin, son of the King Akbar, stamped this coin at
 Ahmadábád.

- (2) بهفت کشور این زر همیشه باد روان * ز نقش نام جهانگیر بادشاه جهان
 ضرب احمد آباد سنه جلوس ۱۲ - ۱۰۲۷

"May this gold coin be always current in the seven climes of the
 world,

Through the impression of the name of Jahángir Sháh, the monarch
 of the world,

Struck at Ahmadábád in the 12th year of accession, 1027 H."

- (3) زر احمد آباد را داد زبور * جهانگیر شاه شهنشاه اکبر
 "King Jahángir, son of Emperor Akbar,
 Gave adornment to the gold of Ahmadábád."
- (4) مالک الملک سکه زد بر زر * شاه سلطان سلیم شاه اکبر
 'The Lord of the country the King Sultán Salemi, son of the King Akbar,
 Stamped coin on gold."

Gold Mohars.

- (5) الهی تا جهان باشد روان باد * بشرق و غرب مهر احمد آباد
 "Oh God, so long as the world lasts,
 May the coin of Ahmadábád be current in the East and West."

A small Delhi mohar, in the cabinet of Mr. C. J. Rodgers, has the following couplet :—

- ز رفیع و نصرت جهانگیر شاه * بدهلی زد از فیض لطف اله
 "Through the abundance of the favour of God,
 King Jahángir stamped the coin of triumph and victory at Delhi,"
 21st 1035.

The following gold coin was struck at Ajmir in the 11th year of accession, 1025 A. H :—

- زد بزر این سکه در اجمیر شاه دین پناه * شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه
 "The King, the Defender of the Faith, Núruddin Jahángir, son of Akbar Sháh,
 Stamped this coin on gold at Ajmir."

Another gold coin of Ajmir, in the cabinet of Mr. Rodgers bearing date 1023 H., or the 9th year of accession, has the following inscription on it :—

- جهان نروز با جمیر گشت سکه زر * ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر
 "Through the brightness of the name of King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar,
 Gold coin became illuminated in the world in Ajmir."

According to the *Sair-i-Gulshan-i-Hind*, the Burhánpúr rupee bore the following inscription :—

- سکه زد در شهر برهان پور شاه دین پناه * شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه
 "The King, the Defender of the Faith,
 Núruddin Jahángir, son of the King Akbar, stamped the coin in the city of Burhánpúr."

Mr. Rodgers has a Rupee of the Allahabád mint in his cabinet, with the following couplet :—

- همیشه نور زر و سکه اله آباد * ز نام شاه جهانگیر شاه اکبر باد
 "May the brightness of the gold and coin of Allahabád last for ever
 Through the name of King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar."

The rupee struck in the mint of Fatehpúr Sikri bore, according to General Cuninghame, the following inscription :—

- بفتح پور نروز زنده گشت سکه زر * ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

"Through the brilliancy of the name of King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar, gold coin became bright at Fatehpúr."

The gold coins of the Mandú mint had the following inscription :—

سکه مندور نام جهانگیر شاه * پرتو دهد بنور جهان همچو مهر و ماه

"Through the name of King Jahángir may the coin of Mandú brighten the world with its splendour like the sun and the moon."

The rupee struck at the Kábúl mint bore the following couplet :—

سکه زد در شهر کابل خسرو گیتی پناه * شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

"The King, Asylum of the World, Núruddin Jahángir, son of the King Akbar, stamped this coin in the city of Kábúl."

And at Kandahár, silver coin with the following inscription was struck :—

سکه قندهار شد دلخواه * از جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه

"The coin of Kandahár became delightful through King Jahángir, son of the King Akbar."

Mr. Rodgers, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, mentions two remarkable couplets on the Gold Mohar of Jahángir struck at Ajmer in the 9th year of his accession, or 1023 H. On one side of this coin is the couplet :—

شبهه حضرت شاه جهانگیر * قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر

"Fate has drawn the picture of His Majesty King Jahángir on the coin of gold."

On the reverse is the couplet :—

حروف جهانگیر واللہ اکبر * ز روز ازل ور عدد شد برابر

Mr. Rodgers rhymes the above thus :—

"The letters in Jahángir's name, and in that of God the greatest. From the first day have one value, had and shall have to the latest."

The Emperor had gold and silver money coined in the name of his favourite consort, Núr Jahán, bearing the following inscription :—

بهکم شاه جهانگیر یافت مدد زیور * بنام نور جهان بان شاه بیگم زر

"By order of the King Jahángir, gold received a hundred-fold additional beauty

Through the name of Núr Jahán, the chief consort."

Her seal bore the following inscription :—

نور جهان گشت بفضل الله * همدم و همراز جهانگیر شاه

"Núr Jahán became, through the favour of God, The beloved consort of the King Jahángir"

Mr. Thornhill of Meerut had some *Kalmá* rupees of the mint of Jahángir, bearing the following inscription :—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

"There is no God but God, and Mohamad is the Prophet of God,
Núruddin Mahomed Jahángir, the valiant king."

Other *Kalmá* rupees bore only the words :—

محمد جهانگیر بادشاہ غازی

"Mahomed Jahángir, the valiant king."

In describing the events of the 12th year of his reign, the Emperor writes in his Memoirs :—"In these days orders were passed that gold and silver Tankás be struck at Gujrat (Deccan). On one side of the gold Tanká were the words :—

جهانگیر شاهی سنہ ۱۰۲۷

King Jahángir 1027 H.

And on the reverse :—

ضرب کھنڈایت سنہ ۱۲ جلوس

'Struck at Khambbayat in the 12th year of the reign.'

The following couplet was inscribed on the silver Tanká, with the words :—

جهانگیر شاهی سنہ ۱۰۲۷ هجری

King Jahángir 1027 H.'

Between the two lines :—

بزر این سکہ زد شاہ جهانگیر ظفر پرتو * پس از فتح دکن آمد چو در گجرات از ماندو

'The victorious King Jahángir struck this coin on gold,
On arrival at Gujrat from Mandú, after the conquest of Deccan.'

On the reverse was the inscription :—

ضرب کھنڈایت سنہ ۱۲ جلوس

'Struck at Khambbayat, in the 12th year of the reign.'

Coinage of Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahán ascended the throne at Agra on 4th February 1628.

On one side of his gold and silver coin he caused to be inscribed the confession of faith, around which were the names of the four Khalifs, or successors of Mahomed. On the other side of the coin was the name of Shah Jahán.

Like his predecessors Akbar and Jahángir, Shah Jahán had silver coins struck, which were called *Nisár* شار, from their being scattered among the crowd.

A *Nisár* coin of Shah Jahán's time, as large in size as an eight-anna piece, is extant in the Delhi Museum. The inscription on it is as follows :—

Obverse :—

بادشاہ غازی

شاہ جهان

نثار صاحب قران ثانی

"The *Nisár* of the second Sahib Qirán
The valiant King Shah Jahán."

Reverse :—

شاه جهان آباد

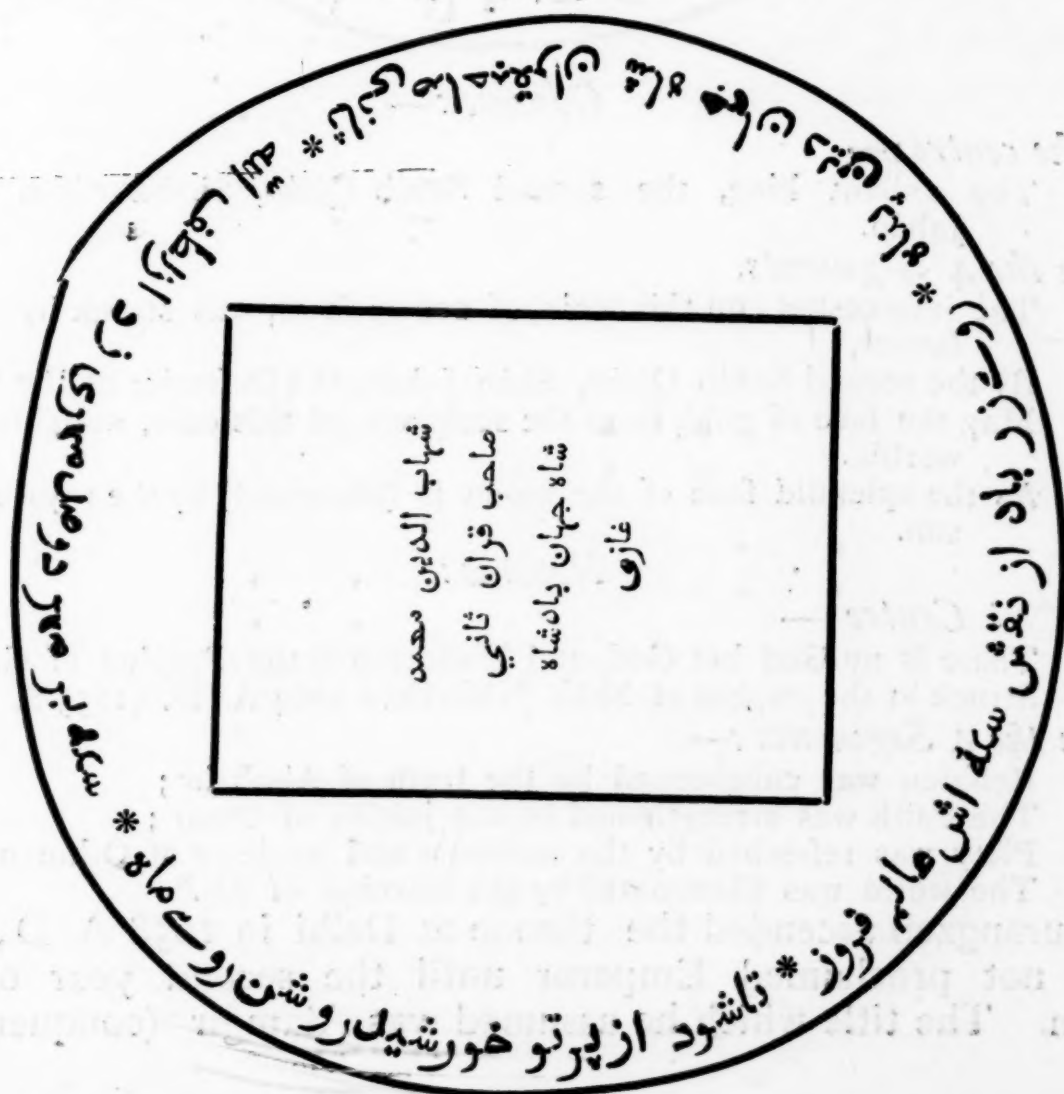
ضرب دار الخلافة

سنه ۲۶ جاوس سنه ۱۰۶۳ هجرى

"Struck at the capital of Shahjahánábád, in the 26th year of accession, 1063 Hijri."

A 200 gold mohar-piece, struck by Shah Jahán, was very remarkable. It was a massive gold coin valued at three thousand rupees. The author of *Miftah-ul Twárikh* gives a drawing of it. A coin of this description, struck in the 28th year of the Emperor's reign, corresponding to 1064, is extant in the British Museum, London. The Honourable J. Gibbs, in exhibiting a drawing and an estempage of two enormous gold coins at a Meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society, held in January 1883, observed :—

"The former represents a 200 gold mohar-piece of Shah Jahán, the latter a 100 gold mohar-piece of Aurangzeb. The earliest reference to such pieces will be found in Tavernier's *Travels in India*, pp. 106-7, where he gives the drawing of one, but different from and smaller than these : he says they were coined and thrown among the people at the coronation, and were mostly of silver ; that there were very few gold ; but he adds that Aurangzeb did not coin any such pieces for his coronation. * The following is the inscription of this coin :—



* Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1, January 1883.



Obverse :—

In the centre :—

The valiant king, the second Sahib Qirán, Shahábuddin Sháh Jahán.

In the 4 Segments.

The impression on this coin, of 200 mohars, was struck by divine favour,

By the second Sahib Qirán, Sháh Jahán, the Defender of the Faith. May the face of gold, from the sculpture of this coin, enlighten the world,

As the splendid face of the moon is (illumined) by the rays of the sun.

Reverse :

Centre :—

There is no God but God, and Mahomed is the Prophet of God. Struck at the capital of Sháh Jahánábád 1064 A. H. (1653 A. D.)

In the 4 Segments :—

Religion was enlightened by the truth of Abubakr ;

The Faith was strengthened by the justice of Omar ;

Piety was refreshed by the mildness and modesty of Othman ;

The world was illumined by the learning of Ali."

Aurangzeb ascended the throne at Delhi in 1658 A. D., but was not proclaimed Emperor until the second year of the reign. The title which he assumed was Alamgir (conqueror of

the world), the same that had been incrustcd on the blade of the sabre presented to him by his father Sháh Jahán, the year before, when he was encamped at Agra.

Previously to the time of Aurangzeb, the *Kalimá*, or Moham-madan confession of faith, and the names of the first four Khalifs, were engraved on one side of gold and silver coin.—“As the coin is liable to fall indiscreetly into the hand of everybody, His Majesty,” observes the author of *Ma-ásiri Alamgiri*, “ordered that some suitable superscription should be substituted for the *Kalimá* in the coin of his period,” Accordingly, Mir Abul Baki, known by the poetical name of *Sabhá*, composed the following couplet, which he read to the king :—

سکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر * شاه اورنگ زیب عالمگیر

“The King Aurangzeb Alamgir

Struck gold coin in the world like the luminary sun.”

The king approved of this composition and ordered that on one side of the gold coin the above couplet be engraved, and on the other side the date of accession and the name of the town where the coin might be struck. For silver coin it was ordered that the word *Badar* بدر, “Sun,” be changed to *Mehr* مهر, “Moon,” and that the remaining part of the inscription be allowed to stand. The following was the inscription ordered to be made on the royal seal :—

ابوالمظفر محی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب بهادر عالمگیر بادشاه غازی

“The father of victory, Mohyuddin Mahomed Aurangzeb Bahádur, the valiant king.”

ART. VIII.—BANKING IN THE MUFASSAL.

AT the present day, when Joint Stock Banks, *Limited*, are competing with each other in all the principal cities and towns of India, it is difficult to realize the state of things which obtained some thirty years ago. The era of Joint Stock Companies with *limited* liability began with Act XIX of 1857, and Act VII of 1860 was passed to enable Banking Companies to be formed on the same principle, which, till then, they had been prohibited from being. Long before those days many Joint Stock Banks with unlimited liability had been formed in the *Mufassal*, and had existed, with more or less usefulness and success, for considerable periods; but all except two or three had become extinct.

The history of Indian Banks down to 1863 was recorded, so far as he could obtain materials, by Mr. Charles Northcote Cooke, then Deputy Secretary and Treasurer of the Bank of Bengal, in his "*Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of Banking in India*," which was published in Calcutta. In introducing his subject, Mr. Cooke treated of the origin of Banking; its antiquity in India; the monetary system of India, in great detail; the use of banking to India; the then existing condition of banking: and, finally, the "Management of a Bank." "How much," he said, "is involved in the expression. How difficult for those, who are unacquainted with the principles of banking, to understand the full import of the term. How much evil and misery would be avoided if shareholders would set themselves a little more attentively to consider what is required of Directors and Secretary before they are nominated." Mr. Cooke afterwards drops the word 'Secretary' in favour of 'Manager,' because, when a Secretary has no Managing Director over him, he is, to all intents and purposes, the chief officer, in fact, the Manager, whatever his specific designation may be. But he by no means thinks that a Manager's duty is to manage the Directors; on the contrary he says: "The Directors are responsible to the shareholders for what is done by their Secretary (Manager), and on very just grounds. They are bound to appoint a proper Manager, and, if they give their official sanction to his proceedings, they adopt them as their own, and must abide by them." On the other hand, "a Manager," Mr. Cooke says, "ought to be qualified, not only to subserve the interests of a monied establishment, but, if necessary, to lead the opinions of the Directors, who should not hesitate in placing the most implicit reliance on his judgment. He ought to be, therefore, consulted in all cases of doubt and difficulty; in fact, to be the

life and soul rather than the mere servant of a Bank,—the prosperity of which depends, not upon the hastily-acquired knowledge of an hour, but on the patiently and laboriously accumulated lessons of experience."

Mr. Cooke draws a clear distinction between the influential and the constitutional power of the Manager of a Bank: it is his duty to give advice to his Directors, and, if he gives bad advice, he is responsible for the result of measures adopted by the Directors in consequence of that advice, though not if they adopted them irrespectively of it. "A Manager," Mr. Cooke says, "is responsible to his Directors, and not to the shareholders. He is appointed by the Directors, by whom he may be dismissed. It is clear, therefore, that he is responsible *to them*." This may be a correct theory, but it is not the practice of all Indian Banks, some of which have been founded by their Managers, who made themselves responsible to the shareholders, and who, in case of fraudulent conduct, cannot even be suspended by the Directors. Directors, in such a position, are clearly of no use, and no man with proper self respect would accept such a position and draw fees for filling it.

The greater part of Mr. Cooke's book is taken up with the history of the Indian Banks, and it is very curious and interesting reading. Most space, as is natural, is given to the Bank with which he was connected, *The Bank of Bengal*; but the other two Presidency Banks are fairly dealt with. *The Oriental Bank Corporation*, which took its original from the Bank of Western India, founded in 1842; *The Union Bank*, established in 1829, and which stopped payment in 1848, after having long continued to pay dividends from the deposits which people were still confiding enough to make; *The Bank of Hindustan*, established as a private bank in 1770; *The Commercial Bank*, dating from 1819; *The Calcutta Bank*, which had a short life, from 1824 to 1829; *The Bank of Mirzapore*, which seems to have been simply Mr. Bathurst, a young man from England, of plausible means, suave address and gentlemanly appearance, which did not last two years, and the notes of which were, Mr. Cooke said, still to be met with in the Upper Provinces, though then looked upon merely as curiosities; *The Agra and United Service Bank, Limited*, established at Agra in 1833, under the name of the Agra Bank, removed—as regarded the head-office—to Calcutta in 1852, and to London in 1857-58, after which it was registered there as a Bank with limited liability; *The North Western Bank of India*, which began at Mussoorie as a private Bank in 1840, with a capital of Rs. 50,000, increased to 40 lakhs by September 1847 (!), and was put into liquidation in 1859; *The Delhi Bank Corporation*, which was established as "The Delhi Bank," at Delhi, in 1844, and registered in 1860 under the

Limited Liability Act as "The Delhi Bank Corporation, Limited;" *The Dacca Bank*, established in 1846, and taken over bodily in 1862 by the Bank of Bengal; *The Benares Bank*, set up in 1844-45, chiefly by the influence of Colonel Pew (who before that, was believed to be a man of large fortune and unbounded credit, but was afterwards seized with a mania for speculating), and put into liquidation in 1849, its sole business having been money-lending at ten per cent., from which it paid dividends at twelve; *The Simla Bank, Limited*, which began business in 1844, and the same, we believe, that went into liquidation during the last decade, and is still at it; *The London and Eastern Banking Corporation*, started in London in 1854, as the result of a schism between the proprietors of the Simla and Umballa Bank, but put into liquidation, with the result of disgraceful disclosures in March 1857; *The Cawnpore Bank*, in the formation of which in 1845, the same Colonel Pew, who did so much for the Benares Bank, was instrumental: this Bank ceased to exist in 1851; *The Agra Savings Fund*, which dates from 1842, and was afterwards registered with limited liability under Act VII of 1860 as the "Agra Savings Bank, Limited," and still prospers; *The Uncovenanted Service Bank, Limited*, opened at Agra, as the Uncovenanted Bank, in 1846, which is now in liquidation; *The Commercial Bank of India*, which was established in Bombay in 1845 for local purposes, but soon did business in Ceylon, and about 1862 opened a branch in China, and in 1863, when Mr. Cooke's book was written, was about to obtain a charter and remove the head-office from Bombay to London; *The Government Savings Bank*, established in Calcutta on the 1st November 1833, under the guarantee and on the responsibility of Government, not very long after the disastrous failure of all the large commercial houses, its object being to afford to all classes, British and Native, a means of investing their savings, free from the uncertain influences of commerce; *The Bank of Asia*, projected in London in 1841, but broken up without ever having got to work; *The East India Bank*, projected in 1842, one of the latent objects of which was to absorb the Bank of Bengal, but which never existed but in name; *The Chartered Bank of Asia*, set on foot in 1852, but which, after an attempt to amalgamate with the Mercantile Bank of India, London and China, was soon dissolved and wound up; *The Mercantile Bank of India, London and China*, established in Bombay in 1853, which in 1856, held $\frac{6}{10}$ ths of the capital of the Chartered Bank of Asia mentioned above, and in 1857 was wound up and succeeded by The Chartered Bank of the same name; *The Bank of Ceylon*, established at Colombo in 1841, with agencies at the presidency-towns of India, but

taken over in 1849 by The Oriental Bank ; *The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China*, which was started in 1853, but did not begin business until the end of 1857 ; *The London Bank of Australia and India*, projected in 1852-53, but never brought into active operation ; *The Punjab Bank, Limited*, of recent formation at the date of Mr. Cooke's writing, and long ago wound up ; *The Scinde, Punjab and Delhi Bank Corporation, Limited*, which, in 1863, was just starting into operation in London, but the end of which Mr. Cooke was of course unable to chronicle ; *The Central Bank of Western India*, which was started at Bombay in 1860, and seems, a few years after, to have been amalgamated with the newly-started Bank of Hindustan, China and Japan ; *The Bank of Hindustan, China and Japan*, started in 1862 ; *The Bank of Rohilkund (Rampore)*, "an infant institution, having only been in operation since December 1862," supported and assisted by the Nawab of Rampore ; *The People's Bank of India, Limited*, projected in 1860 to meet a want in Calcutta in banking matters, *viz* :—an institution which would not despise small business ; *The Comptoir D'Escompte de Paris*, incorporated by National Decree of 1848, and by Imperial Decree of 1854, which has branches in India, in Calcutta and Bombay ; *The Bengal Bank*, which was in existence in Calcutta so far back as 1790, but had ceased to exist long previous to 1800 ; *The Bank of India*, projected in 1828 by Rajkissore Dutt, the man "whose forgeries, well planned and carried out," of Company's Paper, are mentioned by Mr. Cooke in his account of the Bank of Bengal ; *The General Bank of India* which was in existence in Calcutta in 1790 and 1791, but the further history of which is not recorded ; and, finally, *The Carnatic Bank*, respecting which Mr. Cooke only knew that it was in existence in 1791. All these institutions are passed under review in Mr. Cooke's book, at greater or less length, the whole forming a most interesting and instructive record of sound mercantile enterprise, perseverance under difficulties, rash and unscrupulous speculation, and swindling of the most unblushing description, which happily did not always escape unpunished.

The doings of most of the Banks enumerated above belong, however, to "ancient history," and with those of them which have survived to the present day, we have, with perhaps one or two exceptions, nothing here to do. *Mufassal*, or country Banks in India are our theme. Turning to the share list in the commercial supplement to *Capital*, we find ten *Mufassal* Banks: a year ago there were eleven ; and now another has gone into liquidation and must, therefore, be dropped out of the list.

It is too soon to point any moral by referring to the causes

of the failure of the Himalaya Bank, *Limited*, but the main facts of its case will not be overlooked in the general review we propose to give. In looking over the list, the chief fact observable is the very small amount of share-capital on which *Mufassal* banking is based. Here is a list, in alphabetical order, of the eleven Banks, including the two that have lately "failed," with the amounts of their capital and reserved funds, taken from the most recently published accounts :—

| Names. | Subscribed Capital. | Paid-up Capital. | Reserve Funds. |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Agra Savings Bank, Limited ... | 3,60,000 | 1,80,000 | 61,000 |
| Allahabad Bank, Limited ... | 4,00,000 | 4,00,000 | 3,63,000 |
| Alliance Bank of Simla, Limited ... | 10,00,000 | 8,50,000 | 5,80,000 |
| Bank of Upper India, Limited ... | 10,00,000 | 10,00,000 | 2,80,000 |
| Commercial and Land Mortgage Bank, Limited ... | 10,00,000 | 6,30,000 | 4,08,000 |
| Himalaya Bank, Limited... .. | 2,00,000 | 2,00,000 | 1,30,000 |
| Mussorie Bank, Limited ... | 3,00,000 | 3,00,000 | 50,000 |
| Oudh Commercial Bank, Limited ... | 2,00,000 | 2,00,000 | 24,000 |
| Punjab Banking Company, Limited ... | 2,50,000 | 1,45,000 | 20,000 |
| Rohilkhund and Kumaun Bank, Ltd.... | 4,00,000 | 3,60,950 | 85,000 |
| Uncovenanted Service Bank, Limited | 6,00,000 | 6,00,000 | 74,307 |
| Totals ... | 57,10,000 | 48,65,950 | 20,75,307 |
| Deduct Nos. 6 and 11 ... | 8,00,000 | 8,00,000 | 2,04,307 |
| Totals of Solvent Banks ... | 49,10,000 | 40,65,950 | 18,71,000 |

Fifty lakhs of rupees, then, of which only a little over four-fifths are paid up, constitute the whole subscribed share-capital of nine Banks, all of which, judging by the dividends they pay, are in a flourishing condition. They do business from Dacca to Quetta, and from Kashmir to Ajmir, and the head-quarters of one of them is in Madras; and where they have not branches they have agents and correspondents. They pay dividends on the paid-up share-capital, at rates varying from 9 to 15 per cent., aggregating Rs. 4,50,730 in a year, besides placing large amounts annually in "Reserve," which have now accumulated to Rs. 18,71,500. And this after paying all expenses.

How is it done? There is no mystery about it: besides their share-capital, the nine Banks have over 357 lakhs of rupees to trade with, entrusted to them for that purpose by a confiding public. 357 lakhs, lent out at (say) 10 per cent., produce over 35 lakhs a year, from which must be deducted interest at (say) 5 per cent. paid for fixed deposits amounting

to nearly 298 lakhs, leaving (say) 20 lakhs of gross profit to cover expenses, losses and net profit. Supposing only 4 lakhs of rupees were left, out of the 20 of gross profits, there would be a 10 per cent. dividend for the shareholders on the 40 lakhs of paid-up capital. Thus the share-capital might be entirely lost, and still, so long as their credit remained good, the nine Banks ought to continue to pay dividends averaging 10 per cent.

In other words, the depositors allow the Banks to make a net profit of 10 per cent. on their capital, out of their 300 lakhs of deposits, in consideration, in the case of depositors for fixed periods, of being paid 5 per cent. as their share of profit on what they deposit. This is not strictly correct, because the Scotch practice of paying a moderate rate of interest on floating deposits is to some extent coming into vogue in India; but it gives a rough explanation of how the Banks manage to divide an even higher rate of interest than they charge for lending out their share-capital.

The principle is, of course, similar to that on which numerous Building, Loan, Land-mortgage and Trading Companies have been established in Great Britain. These Companies have a comparatively small paid-up share-capital, but they receive large amounts on deposit, or on debenture-bonds, at a moderate rate of interest, and a small rate of profit on the amounts so borrowed gives a large profit on their small amount of share-capital. But in the case of the Home Companies, generally, only a portion of the subscribed-capital is called up, and the balance remains as security to the creditors. The liability of the shareholders is *limited*, but it is not exhausted: it is reserved in case of need; and if the Company's business is good and its investments are safe, and if it sets apart sufficient amounts from its profits to build up a fund from which to meet ordinary losses and contingencies, its credit may become so well established that the reserve liability may never have to be drawn on, and the shareholders may thus continue to receive increasingly large dividends upon the small amounts they may have paid-up on their shares.

As we said at the outset, the amount of share-capital of our nine *Mufassal* Banks is very small, and till quite lately it was considerably smaller. Since the end of 1889, three of the nine have increased their subscribed-capital by seven lakhs of rupees, and this will be fully paid by the end of the current year. The total subscribed share-capital is only 13·82 per cent. of the amount held in floating and fixed deposits.

The principle of having an authorized and subscribed capital in excess of the amount called up, as security to their customers, is not in general favour with the Indian *Mufassal* Banks: it is thought that with the possibility of further calls impending,

shares are not so desirable an investment as when there is no contingent liability ; and, moreover, the larger the paid-up and invested share-capital, the less will losses in the course of business be felt by a Bank. A bad debt of one lakh of rupees means, to a Bank with a paid-up share-capital of two lakhs, the loss of half of its capital, but to a Bank with a capital of ten lakhs, it means a loss of only one-fifth. In the first supposed case a loss of two lakhs would mean extinction ; but in the second eight lakhs of share-capital would still remain. While, therefore, a large amount of total working-capital in proportion to the subscribed share-capital, if it be profitably invested, means a proportionally larger profit to the shareholders, it means also inferior security and proportionate risk to the depositors.

But there are other important points which investors ought to consider in selecting Banks in which to buy shares, or to deposit their money for fixed periods at interest. One good test of a Bank's soundness is the amount of its current accounts, that is to say, the amount of money deposited with it which is withdrawable on demand, and either yields no interest or yields only a low rate. Such "floating deposits" bring to a Bank very profitable business in the way of exchange and discount transactions and commission ; and, should current accounts be overdrawn, a large profit is made by the charge of interest on overdrafts, especially if the overdrafts are quickly recovered. On the other hand, large amounts held in floating deposit entail the preserving of a large cash balance, and a certain amount of readily convertible securities, not only to meet daily demands but to provide against the possibility of a "run on the Bank." The amount of available funds is, therefore, another point that should be considered in selecting a Bank to deal with or belong to.

An intending investor should also observe how a Bank's share-capital is guaranteed by reserves set apart from profits. If a Bank divides among its Shareholders all or nearly all its profits, or merely carries forward a sum to the Profit and Loss Account of the next half-year, and so on, when any serious loss occurs it really amounts to a loss of capital ; and if the share-capital be small, a few such losses may swallow it up. The Articles of Association of a Bank sometimes provide that, when a certain portion of its capital has been lost, the Bank shall cease to exist and shall be wound up, and the Shareholders should guard against this happening by building up from their profits not only, as is commonly done, a "Reserve Fund," but also a "Bad and Doubtful Debt Fund" from which all ordinary losses can be met. But here again the careful investor will look to the assets side of the balance-sheet, and

make sure that these funds are realities and not mere accounts: they must be well covered by Government or other good and readily marketable securities—over and above those held in supplement of the cash balance,—and these securities must be always in the Bank and not pledged in any way. This is a matter in which Auditors should be very particular.

It is much to be feared that the early history of some *Mufassal* Banks would ill bear the light. They have been founded, not by capitalists but by men destitute of capital, or who wanted other men's capital to trade or speculate with. Such men said to their neighbours: "Go to, let us start a Bank?" and under the Indian Companies Acts that was an easy matter. They had only to sign a short "Memorandum of Association," in which were stated (1) the name of the Company; (2) the part of British India in which the registered office of the Company was proposed to be situated; (3) the objects for which the proposed Company was to be established, namely, Banking and all its branches; (4) that the liability of the members was limited; (5) the amount of capital with which the Company proposed to be registered, divided into shares of a certain fixed amount. And seven persons might sign such a Memorandum, and they need not put their names down for more than one share each. The stamp duty is fifteen rupees, and the fees to be paid to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, with whom the Memorandum must be lodged for record and registration, are not heavy, amounting to one hundred and twenty-five rupees for a capital of one lakh, one hundred and seventy-five rupees for 2 lakhs, and fifty rupees more for every additional lakh up to 10 lakhs, after which the fee is ten rupees per lakh. If the Bank chose to frame Articles of Association for its own special guidance, it had to pay a further stamp duty of twenty-five rupees and a fee of five rupees for registering them; but if it did not so elect, it came under the model regulations attached to the Act without incurring further expense.

As the value of the shares might be fixed at one rupee each, the total initial outlay of the seven Promoters of a Bank might not be much above two hundred rupees, or (say) thirty rupees each.

In point of fact one hundred rupees is usually the nominal value of a share in an Indian Bank; but the payment of this is sometimes spread over a year or two, and shares are allotted on payment of a first instalment of their price. Upon the registration of the Memorandum of Association, and of the Articles of Association, if any, the Registrar certifies that the Company is incorporated, and in the case of a limited Company

(the Banks are all limited) that it is limited : the subscribers of the Memorandum of Association, together with such other persons as may from time to time become members of the Company, thereupon become a body corporate, capable forthwith of exercising all the functions of an incorporated Company, and having perpetual succession and a common seal, and with liability, on the part of the members, to contribute to the assets of the Company, in the event of its being wound up, only to the amount, if any, unpaid on the shares which they hold.

The promoters of the Bank, of course, at first, either act as Directors, or appoint Directors from among themselves ; and this is a reason for limiting the number of subscribers of the Memorandum of Association to seven, the legal minimum. The allotment of shares, and the collection of deposits, then goes on merrily, the Directors and Manager having, of course, the first right—where might is right—to the use of the other shareholders' and depositors' money, and the shareholders, who are friends of the Directors, being next allowed to share the spoil. High rates are, of course, given for deposits ; and, as an additional attraction, a substantial dividend is declared for the first half-year after the Bank is started. In one case which we could mention, the first dividend paid was provided for from saving on the amount set apart out of capital for preliminary expenses. The rate of dividend is worked up as quickly as possible to 9 or 10 per cent. per annum ; and thenceforth it is a law, not to be broken, that, whatever losses may be incurred, the rate of dividend shall never fall below that. A "Reserve Fund" is started as soon as it decently can be, and the increase of this "by leaps and bounds" depends quite as much upon the losses as upon the profits. Interest upon bad and doubtful debts owing to the Bank is regularly charged to the debtors, and as regularly taken credit for in the "Profit and Loss Account," whether realized or not. Once in the "Profit and Loss Account," the transfer of unrealized interest to the "Reserve Fund," when the "Divisible Balance" comes to be distributed, is easy ; and so is the payment of dividend out of capital.

By-and-by decency requires that some tangible security should appear in the Balance Sheet to represent the large sums carried to the "Reserve Fund,"—and an entry is made "To Government Securities." Perhaps some securities really are bought, and perhaps also the auditors may see them once or twice ; but the Manager thinks it folly to be earning only 4 or 4½ per cent. on the money which the securities represent ; so he sends them to the Calcutta Bank which acts as the Agent of his *Mufassal* Bank, borrows on them at the market rate, and then lends out the money at ten or twelve per cent., on perhaps

very insufficient security. Then come losses, and perhaps a "run on the Bank," and the "Reserve Fund," which ought to be available, is found to be practically non-existent. The securities on which the working-capital was lent out were, in most cases, really insufficient, and in some, besides the promissory note or personal bond, which is rarely omitted, consisted merely of policies of insurance on the life of the debtor, who not infrequently has become insolvent, and, with no intention or prospect of dying, soon leaves the Bank the choice of paying the premium necessary to maintain the policy in force, or of allowing the policy to drop, and so losing even the hope of realizing a portion of the debt after, perhaps, twenty or thirty years.

Pressure is now put upon debtors who can pay ; money is no longer freely lent out to all and sundry upon insufficient security ; and these, and all the impecunious people who have for years been living on money borrowed from the Bank and paying no interest on it, begin to talk, and say that the Bank must be in a bad way. Depositors, who hear the Bank "talked of," take alarm and withdraw their money : a run sets in : more and more efforts are made to realize assets, even at a sacrifice of interest, which has been accruing for years ; and then down comes "humpty-dumpty," and all the liquidators in India cannot pick him up again.

But all this time, it may be asked : Where were the trustees or Directors of the Bank ? What were they about to let the business be so recklessly conducted and mismanaged ? The answer is,—that from the first the promoters, and then the Manager, carefully selected the Directors with the view that they should be tools, or, at least, mere figure-heads. When asked to serve, they were told that they would have merely nominal work to do : only to look at papers which the Manager circulated, and to write, "I agree," sign their names, and draw their fees, which, to obviate the necessity of holding meetings, were fixed at so much a year and half-year. Such formalities as Board-meetings, minutes of proceedings were never allowed to hamper the Manager's action, and, in fact, the Bank was known by his name, as Brown's Bank, or Jones' or Robinson's Bank ; and the registered name of the Company was never so much as mentioned. In one instance that could be named, the Directors' names were never advertised, or even mentioned in the printed accounts submitted half-yearly to the members of the Company ; and when a certain shareholder became inquisitive on this point, and the names of the Directors were at last disclosed, the name of one man was found to have been kept in the list for years after he had gone home, and had, *ipso facto*, vacated office. This was because he had a handle to

his name. It is not certain that his fees were not duly put to the credit of his account; but it is believed they were duly charged in the "Profit and Loss Account."

And where were the auditors, in our typical Bank, which, however, has been constructed and worked on the model of Banks actually existing, and not from our own moral consciousness? It had been provided, in the Articles of Association—whether designedly, or not, cannot be said,—that there should be merely one auditor; and, for many years before the Bank failed, that auditor had been a large debtor to the Bank. His interest in making things pleasant was, therefore, undoubted. And although the Articles of Association very properly embodied a regulation of the Table attached to the Indian Companies Act, to the effect, that no debtor was eligible for the office of auditor, yet, year after year, this debtor was proposed for re-election as auditor until he died. The successor proposed by the Directors and Manager, was an official of another local Company, the accounts of which were audited by the Manager of the Bank; and the Directors could not be made to see that there was any impropriety in this! To the very last this auditor regularly every half-year certified that he had examined the books and accounts of the Bank, carefully verified the items on the balance-sheet, and found the vouchers in order, and went out of the way to say that the books had, as usual, been kept in a very creditable manner, and to tender his best thanks for the assistance rendered to him by the officials of the Bank in his examination of the Accounts. If the auditor was honest, how the Manager and the rest of his crew must have laughed in their sleeves on getting this certificate!

But, perhaps, it is hardly right thus to show how easily a Bank may be started and run in India for twenty or thirty years with apparent success, and certainly with great profit to its projectors, upon a small share-capital, the whole of which, as well as the Reserve nominally set apart out of profits, may have been lost years before the smash comes. We can only hope that our reader will be merciful to the depositing public, and refrain from at once starting half-a-dozen new Banks in the unexploited parts of the Bengal Presidency. The "confidence trick" is so easily worked. Three or four confederates get hold of a "young man from the country," and, pretending to be strangers to each other, one of them lets out that he is in possession of a large sum of money, or (say) some valuable jewellery. Presently he makes some pretext for leaving the company, and asks one of his confederates, in whom he expresses great confidence, to take care of his purse

or pretended valuables, until he returns. The greenhorn, too, has been boasting and exhibiting his money, or a valuable watch, and, perhaps, professing great regard for one of his new friends; so he, in turn, is pressed to "show his confidence" by going out for a while and leaving his property in the custody of the other, with a result which we need not mention. Perhaps we forget the exact *modus operandi*; but what has been given is near enough to illustrate the working of our typical small *Mufassal* Banks. Neither the "young man from the country," nor the depositor in the Bank, ever sees his money again if he leaves it too long in the "Bank of confidence."

But there is another and a more pleasing side to the picture. We have been describing the Bank that is founded on nothing but the desire for personal aggrandizement, and conducted to its close on unsound principles, which entail a system of concealment and deceit that could never continue to exist under a properly qualified directorate and with a *bonâ-fide* audit. Let us now look at a better type of Indian Bank, such as the reader may select for himself from the Table given above.

This sort of Bank, though it also may have had a modest beginning, was started to meet a public want, and with a determination that it should be worked on sound principles and with business-like prudence. Its share-capital was not all lent out to the leading Promoters on bad or insufficient security, and deposits to a greater extent than could be profitably utilized in legitimate business were not attracted by the offer of an unduly high rate of interest. Accounts, that seemed likely to get into a bad state, were promptly closed; and debts were not allowed to mount up to unmanageable dimensions. The divisible balance of the "Profit and Loss Account" was not purposely inflated by large amounts of unrealized interest, and from the *bonâ-fide* profits enough was periodically left undivided to provide for bad debts and to form a Reserve Fund at the back of the share-capital. Economy was observed in the management, and, by the gradual increased investments in Government and other good securities, a reputation for safety and stability was gradually built up. By-and-by, as the "working-capital" grew to be more than could conveniently be employed at, or managed from, head-quarters, branches were opened in various places where good business offered, and ultimately, to preserve a proper proportion to the ever-increasing amount of deposits, and to justify the opening of more branches, the share-capital was largely increased, or even, perhaps, doubled.

As the business of the Bank increased, the salaries of the establishment were raised in moderation, and the shareholders

recognized the services of the Directors and auditors by increasing their fees to amounts more in accordance with their increased responsibilities and the work they had to do. During its rise and progress our model Bank did not seek to attract business by allowing too high rates of interest, or by underselling its brethren in the rates of interest and discount charged: it worked amicably with its neighbours, and even helped them in case of need; and grew to its position of eminence by sheer force of character, attracting business to itself as the nucleus of a nebula gathers in stardust.

It will now be profitable to consider in more detail the main object of a Joint Stock Banking Company, and some of the conditions which are essential to its prosperity. The *raison d'être* of such a Bank, as of most Joint Stock Companies, is, of course, that the contributors of its share-capital wish to make a good profit on their money without the trouble and labour of personally looking after their investment. They wish to trade with their money, without being themselves the actual traders. They know that, perhaps, a twenty-five per cent. return might be got by personal trading; but they do not like so to risk their capital, or they are in Government or private employ and have no spare time for trading, or they have retired from such employment and want to lead a quiet life, or they are widows or spinsters without business habits, or training, and wish to eke out their means by an investment which promises to yield a better return than they get from "Government Paper," or even fixed deposits in a Bank. They therefore subscribe for shares in a Bank when it is formed, or buy shares in a going concern.

Various reasons guide them in their selection of a Bank, or other Company, in which to become partners, and too often it is a matter of personal preference: they know a Manager, or a Director, and believe in him, and do not scrutinize the accounts of his Company with reasonable care, or are incapable of doing so. But they know the broad facts of such a case,—that there is a Manager presumably competent and honest, with a staff to assist him; that, above the Manager, there is a Board of Directors to superintend and control the affairs of the Company; that there are auditors to examine and certify to the correctness of the accounts; and that the duties and responsibilities of all these officials are strictly defined and laid down by law. All, therefore, ought to go well, and they ought to have nothing to do but to draw their dividend half-yearly. And such investors see the name of their Bank in the daily share lists, and comfort themselves with the thought that they can sell out of their Bank at any time. If they

thought they were really risking the existence of their capital, they would not become shareholders. And, accordingly, the main duty of the Directors and Manager of a Bank is to safeguard the share-capital: the shareholders did not contribute it with the object that it should be risked and lost: they expect to get it back, whenever they please, by selling their shares in the market.

Risk of course there is, for trading cannot be carried on without risk; but, intrusted to the collective wisdom and experience of a Bank, and under the protection of special law, a shareholder's money ought to be safer than if he traded with it himself. The shareholders' capital is the foundation of the credit of a Bank, and it must, therefore, not only be kept intact, but must be surrounded by guarantees in the shape of Reserve Fund and other provision from which all ordinary losses can be met. If the accounts of the Bank do not show that this is so, customers will cease to come to it, its profits will fall off, and the depositors, who furnish the bulk of the working-capital, will withdraw their money as soon as they can.

The "Reserve Fund" of a Bank must be a reality, and not a mere account: it must be funded money. Having been made by allotments from profits belonging to the shareholders, it belongs to them as much as does the share-capital; but as it has been accumulated for the purpose of safe-guarding the capital, it must not be traded with, but kept absolutely safe, by investment in first class securities. And the securities in which a "Reserve Fund" invested must be registered and kept; not sold or pledged for cash when an opportunity for risky gain offers and the cash in the till has run rather low. This wholesome rule does not prevent the sale—and re-investment of the proceeds in another description of good security, of securities belonging to the Reserve—when a chance of legitimate profit offers; but the Reserve Fund must not be risked in the general business of the Bank.

It is a good rule, moreover, to let the Reserve Fund accumulate, by adding to it half-yearly the interest it earns, over and above any sums which the Company may resolve to add to it out of the divisible balance of Profit and Loss Account. It may be said that the sums transferred to Reserve are generally more than the interest the fund has earned; but nevertheless, respect for the natural accumulation of such a fund tends to make it more sacred; and, after a while, if necessity has not occasioned encroachments on the capital, or on the Reserve Fund itself, it ought to be quite enough to allow the fund to be self-increasing. A fund of 2 lakhs will, at compound interest, in six years, amount to over $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs; and one of 4 lakhs will, in six years, become 5 lakhs.

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If this course be adopted, the interest on the securities belonging to the Reserve Fund must not be debited to the general interest account. But in course of time, when it is evident that the Reserve Fund is large enough to require no increment for the present, the interest it earns may be taken to Profit and Loss, or else paid separately to the shareholders as a bonus on their shares. And it is even conceivable that, as the Reserve Fund incontestably belongs to the shareholders, part of it might be capitalized and divided into shares, to be allotted to the shareholders in proportion to their holdings of the original capital, the payment of dividend, however, on these bonus shares depending upon the balance remaining after payment of the usual dividend on the original shares, and after making provision for bad debts.

Shareholders, after setting apart sums to be added to Reserve, are apt to forget that these sums, if not used to meet extraordinary losses, or to equalize the ordinary dividends, really belong to themselves. This may be because the Reserve Fund is entered in the balance-sheet as a "liability," and not as an "asset;" but the liability is to the shareholders, and they should remember the equivalent that ought to appear on the assets side of the account, in the shape of Government and other securities. If Reserve were treated as a reality, as above suggested, it would be much better looked after, and all the different interests bound up in the Bank would benefit in a corresponding degree. Should it ever be necessary, from any cause, to trench upon the Reserve Fund, the amount should be replaced from future profits as quickly as possible; and the Shareholders should insist upon all such encroachments being submitted for their confirmation in general meeting.

Uniformity of the rate of dividend is a thing much studied by Managers and Directors, and it is very desirable from an investor's point of view; but striving and contriving for this sometimes leads to irregularities, if not to absolute fraud. Losses will occur, and, even, if they do not, business may have been bad, and a Manager is tempted to propose to take to Profit and Loss interest on a doubtful account to which nothing has been credited for, perhaps, several years. In this case, probably, the Bank had at first too rapidly raised the rate of dividend, instead of setting aside sufficient sums to meet losses. But to lower the rate of dividend would be to send down the price of the shares in the market, and perhaps also to lessen the confidence of depositors, and a dilemma is presented. Here a capable and honest auditor might step in; but in some cases the dividend is declared by the Directors, and even paid, before the auditor is called to his work.

Properly speaking the dividend ought not to be declared by

the Directors, or paid until it has been sanctioned by the shareholders in general meeting. This is prescribed in the model regulations attached to the Companies Act, and is, indeed, laid down in the Articles of Association of most Companies ; but a practice has arisen by which the Directors take upon themselves to declare the dividend, and to pay it as soon as possible after the close of the half-year to which it relates, trusting to the shareholders to confirm the accomplished facts. Sometimes the dividend is called an *ad-interim* one ; but that term seems more strictly applicable to the case of a Company whose profits cannot, like those of a Bank, be ascertained half-yearly, but whose shareholders, liking to have a payment to account about the middle of their financial year, allow their Directors to pay them a safe amount *ad-interim*. Had this system been adopted by Banks, and were less than the half of the usual yearly amount paid to the shareholders for the first half of a year, it would be much easier than now to fix the dividend for the second half at a rate which, with that already paid, would amount to only what the Bank really ought to declare. These considerations show that the shareholders of a newly-formed Bank ought to restrain their ardour for large dividends, and to check rather than approve of Directors who propose them.

To amass deposits is, of course, of great importance for every Bank, for deposits go to make up its "working-capital," and it is the main object to get other people's capital to work with. But the management of a young Bank ought not, any more than the depositors who contribute to the working-capital, to forget that, after the subscribed-capital has all been called up, and pending the accumulation of substantial reserves, there is no real security for the repayment of deposits at due date. All depends upon the state of the current business. If the Bank flourishes, new deposits come in, and with these previous deposits can be paid off with interest, provided the working-capital has been made good use of. It is only if subscribed-capital be not all called up, and when a substantial Reserve Fund has been formed, that there is real security for the payment of any considerable amount of deposits suddenly and unexpectedly withdrawn. The deposits have been lent out (say) on fairly good security, part no doubt on demand, but the greater part for fixed periods ; and in neither case can prompt repayment at due date be always counted on. Investors ought, therefore, not to be eager to deposit for long periods with a new Bank ; and, *per contra*, the management ought to be careful not to seem eager to receive fixed deposits.

Much harm is done by the competition in rates. No Bank ought, even in India, to offer six per cent. for a year, or even, perhaps, for any period ; and yet most, if not all, of the minor

Banks do so. The margin of profit left, even upon a small capital, is too narrow for such a rate. Of course, the Bank with the smaller share-capital can apparently afford to give the higher rate of interest ; but, as has above been shown, the security to depositors is inferior, and the risk of failure to the Bank is greater than if a lower rate were allowed.

One risk which recent events have shown to be commonly incurred by depositors, generally through ignorance or inexperience, is that of depositing their money without at the same time giving notice of withdrawal. They see a Bank advertising rates of interest allowed for money deposited for fixed periods, and that the longer the period for which the money is deposited the higher is the rate of interest allowed. They therefore go in for the long period, but they forget that if they do not give notice that they will withdraw the money at the end of that period, they will not be able to get it, except perhaps as a favour. And the Banks generally foster this forgetfulness by taking no notice when the depositor omits to ask them to record notice of withdrawal, and also by continuing to allow interest after the nominal period has expired, even although no express renewal of the deposit has been made. On the other hand, they advertise that, if a deposit is not renewed before it expires, it will cease to bear interest. Depositors ought, in every case, to require notice of withdrawal at the end of the period corresponding to the rate of interest they have asked for to be enfaced on the deposit receipt : if they make up their minds afterwards to renew the deposit, it is easy to give notice and to send the deposit receipt, or renewal, with or without the accrued interest added.

A Bank, in good circumstances, is always willing to oblige a depositor by repaying his deposit, with interest to date, before due date, should he be in want of it, either on payment of discount for the privilege, or without charge ; but when a Bank is getting into difficulties it will not do so, as depositors for fixed periods with the recently "failed" Banks have found to their cost, and in such circumstances a Bank is within its rights. But to refuse payment of a deposit at due date, that is, when notice of withdrawal has been given and has expired, is to commit an act of bankruptcy.

If a depositor finds that he has omitted to have notice of withdrawal recorded in a deposit receipt, he ought not to lose a day in sending it for enfacement. *Per contra* (we are dropping into technical language), the management of a Bank ought to beware of considering "fixed deposits" (the slang term for deposits made for fixed periods) as permanent deposits. They know to some extent the probabilities of even enfaced deposits being renewed ; but this should not be taken for granted, and the probability

of deposits being withdrawn at due dates should be provided for. Any increase on the average of withdrawals, any increase of notices of withdrawal, especially during the currency of a period, and any decrease of new deposits should be taken as a warning, and provision to meet a possible run should be made at once. A mere whisper may have been breathed by a timid or spiteful person, but that whisper may be re-echoed from rock to rock of ignorance and malice, until it culminates in a roar which the rattle of all the coin in the Bank's till may be unable to silence.

The high rate of interest which some Indian Banks give to the public, and even, in an emergency, to each other, is much to be deplored : these Banks simply cut their own throats, if not each other's, by their insane competition for fixed deposits. An agreement not to give more than a certain moderate rate would be better for every one, the Banks themselves included. In one Indian station that could be mentioned, three Banks competed for deposits at six per cent., until the most prudent of the three, finding it could not profitably lend out so much money on good security, was fain to deposit large amounts with other Banks on no security at all, except their reputation, and to attempt to refuse to take any more money at so high a rate. But the other two Banks continued to swallow up all they could get at six per cent., and the consequences of this policy are now being disclosed ; the money of which, in their blindness, they thought they could not get enough, has been lent out on bad security, or on no security at all. For a Bank with, perhaps, only two lakhs of share-capital, a small amount of current accounts, and a merely nominal reserve, to accumulate (say) twenty-five lakhs of money on fixed deposit, is sheer folly, however profitable it may seem. The best Banks give the lowest rates of interest, and have the smallest proportion of fixed deposits to share-capital and reserves.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, *deposits for fixed periods*, it seems proper to call attention to the disadvantages in the position of a depositor for a fixed period in India as compared with that of one in England. In England deposit receipts are now "negotiable instruments : " in India they are not. Nor were they so at home before the passing of the High Court of Judicature Act ; but since then equity has prevailed, and a deposit receipt can be endorsed like a cheque, though of course payment cannot be demanded before due date.* The advantage to the holder of being able to transfer a deposit receipt is apparent ; and it may be presumed that the only disadvantage to the Banker is that, when once the deposit

* The authority for this statement will be found in McLeod's Treatise on Banking, not at hand at the present time of writing.

receipt has got into the market, he cannot at all count on the money it represents being left in the Bank after payment becomes due.

The definition of a "negotiable instrument" in Act XXVI of 1881: "An Act to define and amend the law relating to Promissory Notes, Bills of Exchange and Cheques," Section 13, is,—“A ‘negotiable instrument’ means a promissory note, bill of exchange, or cheque, expressed to be payable to a specified person or his order, or to the order of a specified person or to the bearer thereof, or to a specified person or the bearer thereof.” Thus, if we may presume to interpret the utterance of the Legislative oracle, a negotiable instrument is payable to the bearer of the order of a specified person, or even to the bearer (?) of a specified person; but, we are afraid, a deposit receipt cannot be brought within the four corners of this Act. Yet there seems no reason why a deposit receipt should be transferable at home and not in India, and to pass an amendment of Section 13 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, so as to assimilate the law as to deposit receipts in both countries, would be a salutary caution to Indian Banks, as well as a boon and a blessing to Indian depositors. Moreover, at home, a deposit for a fixed period in a Bank is now considered an insurable risk, the rate of premium charged varying according to the reputation of the Bank; but we have not yet heard of any such business being conducted in India.

An intelligent, skilled and honest auditor is an essential adjunct to any Bank, but such a 'bird' is rare in the Indian *Mufassal*. There is no Indian enactment which specifies the qualifications required of a Bank auditor. Banks were excluded from the scope of the original Limited Liability Act for India, Act XIX of 1857; and in Act VII of 1860, entitled "An Act to enable Joint Stock Companies to be formed on the principle of Limited Liability," there is no mention whatever of an audit; and that Act, so far as it went, was incorporated with, and deemed to form part of Act XIX of 1857. The Act now in force with reference to Joint Stock Banks with limited liability, as well as other Joint Stock Companies, *Limited*, is Act VI of 1882, and in the text of this Act the only mention made of auditors is in Section 74, in which, treating of *Provisions for the Protection of Members*, it is enacted that "once in every year the accounts of the Company shall be examined and the correctness of the last balance-sheet and its conformity with the law ascertained and certified by one or more auditor or auditors. No balance-sheet shall be filed with the Register unless its correctness and conformity with the law have been so ascertained and certified, and it has been laid before, and adopted by the Company in General Meeting." But in Table

A of the First Schedule attached to that Act (which does not supersede or affect Table B in the schedule annexed to Act XIX of 1857, so far as the same applies to any Company existing at the time of the commencement of Act VI of 1882) there is a series of regulations, Nos. 83 to 94, for "Audit," and neither in any of these are any qualifications laid down, as required of an auditor, except negative ones, which are—that an auditor must not be interested otherwise than as a member in any transaction of the Company the accounts of which he is appointed to audit, and that no Director or other officer of the Company is eligible during his continuance in office. The first auditors of a Company are to be appointed by the Directors; and subsequent auditors are to be appointed by the Company in General Meeting, and one auditor is sufficient; also, auditors may be members of the Company. These regulations of Table A are word for word taken from Table A of the first schedule appended to Act 25 and 26 Vict., c. 89, the Companies Act, 1862, except that the words "the Local Government" are substituted for "the Board of Trade." Furthermore, in India, as at home, a Company limited may exclude or modify any or all of the regulations contained in Table A, and instead thereof, adopt Articles of Association of its own, by which it will be bound.

Indian Banks sometimes embody in their Articles of Association all the model regulations of Table A, and sometimes substitute more vague and meagre regulations of their own devising. Sometimes they provide for one auditor, sometimes for two. In a recent case, where a Bank had provided that there should "at all times be two auditors to audit the accounts of the Company previously to each half-yearly Meeting thereof, such auditors not being paid servants or officers of the Company, and being appointed at the half-yearly Meeting preceding their audit," one of the auditors resigned owing to ill-health just before an audit fell due, and it was found that there was no provision for appointing a successor to him before the next half-yearly Meeting was held, which seemed to amount to a dead-lock. Had the regulations of Table A regarding auditors been adopted, No. 90 would have obliged the Directors to forthwith call an Extraordinary General Meeting for the purpose of supplying the vacancy in the auditorship; instead of which, the Directors took upon themselves to appoint a person to be the second auditor, trusting to the Company to confirm the appointment at the next Meeting.

This was against both the letter of their own Articles of Association and the spirit of the Act, for an auditor is intended to be appointed by the members of a Company to examine the accounts prepared under the orders of the Directors, whereas,

if the appointment were left to them, Directors might appoint a creature of their own. This, however, was not the result in the case we have in mind.

The minor Indian Banks generally "keep the thing in the concern," by appointing any shareholder to be auditor who is not glaringly incompetent and who will accept the office, which usually is not very remunerative; but occasionally they have to go outside the Bank for auditors, which, in most places, does not mend matters; for professional accountants, other than the servants of companies and private firms, are non-existent in the *Mufassal*, and these even have "grewed," rather than been trained to their work. Chartered accountants, who at home do the work of auditing, have not yet, that we know of, spread beyond the presidency-towns in India. And even if they had, unless they had prolonged local knowledge, they might not be better than the amateur casuals generally picked up; for the latter, with local knowledge, and an honest desire to do the best they can for the Company, can, in time, acquire sufficient knowledge of Banking, and of the affairs of the Bank whose accounts they audit, to become useful auditors. Mr. Francis W. Pixley, F.I.C.A., in his book, "*Auditors: their Duties and Responsibilities under the Joint Stock Companies Act*," &c., treating in chapter II of the mode of "Appointment of Auditors," says—"The custom of electing the same auditors annually is a very sensible one. It is a great mistake to change the auditors, as long as the shareholders are satisfied they do their duty properly. The longer an auditor is in office, the more familiar he becomes with the business of the Company, and, consequently, the more likely to detect any inaccuracies in the accounts, either accidental or intentional."

But if a Manager does not want a searching audit, and cannot find a subservient tool, he may get the shareholders to change the auditors of the Bank as frequently as possible, so that, being new to the work, they may be the more easily hoodwinked. During the examination of the late Manager of the Uncovenanted Service Bank, *Limited*, now in liquidation, before the High Court of the North-Western Provinces, Mr. Justice Straight took down the names of the auditors who had acted in each half-year from the end of 1866 to June 1889, and it appeared that about 32 different persons, apparently all shareholders, had acted in those 45 half-years, and that though certain persons were frequently re-appointed, they always had an interval out of office, so that there was no continuity of work. The thread of many an account would be lost during the intervals, for if an auditor, being re-appointed, wished to follow the clue he had held before, he would be obliged to go back to where

he had left off, and to go through the accounts of the intervening half-years for which he would be in no way responsible, as well of those he was appointed to audit, and this could hardly be expected of him. In this case, however, the Manager denied that he ever had a hand in the election of the Auditors. The Shareholders selected them.

In the case of another Bank, it was provided that there should be only one Auditor, and that he should be elected only once a year: but here change was avoided as much as possible, and ultimately the farce of asking the Shareholders to re-elect the favoured individual was abandoned and he sat tight till he died.

The Manager or Accountant of another Bank would, of course, make the best Auditor of a Bank; but it is considered undesirable that one Bank should know the details of the business of its rival.

The theory of the audit of the accounts of a Joint Stock Company is thus stated by Mr. Pixley:—

“As it would be impossible in many cases, and very inconvenient in all, for each partner to examine these statements of accounts with the books kept at the offices of the Company, and frequently elsewhere, their correctness is usually certified by their representative or representatives elected annually for the purpose of ascertaining that the funds of the Company have been properly accounted for; that such of them as have been expended have been applied in the manner stated in the accounts; that the unexpended portion is invested as stated in the accounts; and generally that, in their opinion, the accounts, as put forward by the Directors for adoption by their co-partners, are accurate in every respect, and to be relied on as showing the result of their management and the true position of their Company, as set forth in the statement of its liabilities and assets. This representative of the Shareholders is known as the Auditor of the Company.”

Mr. Pixley goes on to point out that the duties of an Auditor are not only onerous and responsible, but frequently intricate, and at times, even disagreeable. It may happen that he differs with the Directors as to the manner in which the accounts should be stated, or as to other matters connected with his office. He must have regard principally to the interests of the Shareholders, whom he represents, and though he may be accused by the Directors of improper interference, he should not give way when he feels sure that his suggested alterations would, if carried out, be beneficial to the general body of the Shareholders.—

“As a rule, however, Directors are men of honour and
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integrity, and when that is the case, an Auditor will find his occupation easy and pleasant to perform. He will obtain ready access to all books, documents and securities, and every facility will be afforded him in the prosecution of his audit. If, on the other hand, the Directors have neglected their duties, or have intentionally prepared false accounts to be laid before the Shareholders, the Auditor has not only a very responsible, but a very unpleasant and difficult task before him. Every possible obstacle is thrown in his way to prevent his discovering and exposing their intended deceptions, but the Auditor should be firm, should require all his questions answered, and each unsatisfactory item explained before he affixes his certificate to accounts. He should not allow himself to be tired out and hurried into signing them before he is thoroughly satisfied they are absolutely and entirely correct. The Directors are in his power, if he be firm, as they would be placed in an embarrassing position if they attempted to face the Meeting of the Shareholders without the Auditor's certificate."

Mr. Pixley, being himself an expert, takes a very high view of the qualifications an Auditor should possess, and his enumeration of all he ought to do must be appalling to an amateur. In the last chapter of his book he says:—

"It must be evident, after a careful perusal of the foregoing pages, that the duties of an Auditor are not only grave and responsible, as guarding the interests of a number of Shareholders relying on his ability and honesty, but that in order to fulfil them properly, he requires, beyond the possession of these necessary qualifications, a perfect knowledge of book-keeping and accounts, also an acquaintance with business matters generally, which can only be possessed by those whose training has been directed to this especial object. The absence, however, of these qualifications is, strange to say, not considered an objection by a Meeting of Shareholders when making an election to the important appointment of Auditor of their Company's accounts. One of the most absurd qualifications, and yet the one most frequently put forward by a candidate, is the fact of his being a Shareholder, and for this reason alone most incompetent persons are frequently selected to fill the office."

Assuming, Mr. Pixley argues, that such amateurs do their best, what will that avail them if the accounts are wilfully fraudulent?

They are amateurs pitted against professionals. To make it a *sine quâ non* for an Auditor to be a Shareholder, is certainly a mistake. Supposing the possession of an interest

in the Company to be an incentive to do his best, it does not follow that he will use any knowledge gained during his investigation for the benefit of his co-partners. If he finds the apparently satisfactory accounts presented to him for confirmation to have been evidently prepared with the intention of deceiving the Shareholders, he is tempted by selfish motives to fail in his duty. He knows that, if he refuses his certificate, and the accounts be in consequence altered, the market price of the shares will fall and his own holding be thus depreciated. *Per contra*, if he signs, the shares may be kept up, or rise, and he may be tempted to sell out, except to the extent of his qualification as Auditor. This suggests that an Auditor should not be allowed to own more than one share.

But we agree with Mr. Pixley that, being a Shareholder is an absurd qualification for an Auditor, and that professional men should be employed whenever possible. Here in India, as we have said, we must often be content with amateurs, but let us make the best of them, and allow them to remain in office until by experience they learn something of their work, and, if they seem honest and independent, continue to re-elect them, and raise their remuneration in correspondence with their experience and responsibilities. A week or ten days would hardly suffice to do all that Mr. Pixley says an Auditor should do, including the inspection of the securities which represent the assets, and the ascertainment of their value. And yet any Auditor is expected to audit the half-yearly accounts of a Bank for a fee of sometimes as little as one hundred rupees for each audit.

One very important duty of an Auditor is to see that dividend is not paid out of capital, and Mr. Pixley shows how the Revenue Account should be prepared in order that it may show at a glance when dividend is paid out of past profits, or when its payment creates or adds to a previous deficiency, in other words, when it is paid out of the Shareholders' capital.

"It is clearly the duty of the Auditor," says Mr. Pixley, "to resist the proposal to pay a dividend to the Shareholders out of their own capital, and should the Directors persist in their intention of doing so, he should, in his Report to the Shareholders, clearly state that no dividend has been legitimately earned, and that he disapproves of the proposal of the Directors."

If this is what an Auditor should do in the case of a Joint Stock Company which trades with only Shareholders' capital, how much more necessary is it that the Auditor of Joint Stock Banks should take care that dividend is paid only out

of profits. The share-capital is, perhaps, only one-tenth or one-twentieth of the working-capital, which includes fixed and floating deposits. When losses occur, it is, of course, the share-capital that goes first; but then, if a large profit is not made on what is left, future dividends and interest to Depositors can be paid only out of the Depositors' own capital.

Depositors for fixed periods at present put their money into a Bank on the understanding that it is to be invested, or speculated with, according to the powers of the Bank and the rules laid down for its business, and they risk it accordingly. There is no contract that the money is to be laid up in lavender, and to be forthcoming on demand. And even persons who have current accounts with a Bank, into which they pay money, in "floating deposit," have parted with their money, and have merely the right of action for its equivalent, should their cheques be dishonoured. In view of this it might be suggested that Joint Stock Banks should allow their Depositor-creditors to appoint, at the Banks' expense, a professional Auditor (where one can be got) to act along with the Auditor or Auditors appointed by the Shareholders. Depositors themselves should not be allowed to act for obvious reasons. Or Government might attach to each Provincial Registrar of Joint Stock Companies one or more official Inspectors, who should be present and take part in the audit of several Joint Stock Banks every half-year, and, at other times, go the round of the Banks, make themselves acquainted with their books and affairs, keep their eye upon things generally, and make reports to Government both periodically and when occasion might necessitate them. Such reports would, of course, be made public; but, except in extreme cases, individual accounts would not be reported upon, nor would names be mentioned. The cost of this Government inspection would, of course, be chargeable, under the authority of the Act of Legislature which would be necessary to provide for the inspection, to the Banks rateably, in proportion to their capital, or to the amount of deposits held.

Some such provision for the protection of Depositors, combined with the amendment of the Negotiable Instruments Act, so as to make it apply to deposit receipts, which has been suggested above, would much comfort Depositors, and, at the same time, greatly safeguard Shareholders. In one Province that we could name, the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies seems to do nothing for his pay; though, in the Panjab, we believe the late Registrar, when on his rounds as Inspector-General of Stamps and Registration, used to look up his Joint Stock Companies and see that they were complying with the

provisions of the Act ; and we have heard a Banker say that great good came of these inspections. Mere provisions for the protection of Shareholders and Creditors of Joint Stock Companies, and for registration of these Companies, are not of much use if no one enforces them : nor has Government any moral right to levy registration fees and stamp duties unless it insures that some good is got by paying them.

ART. IX.—"KILWINNING IN THE EAST."

THERE are probably few Scotchmen now living in India to whom the title of this paper will have any meaning ; and even those of the Masonic Fraternity who may recollect that there once existed in Calcutta a Masonic Lodge bearing that name, will (unless possessing antiquarian proclivities, or being themselves Ayrshire men) most likely attach no special significance to the title.

And yet it is one of the ancient landmarks which identify the lives and interests of some of the oldest and best blood of Scotland, with the acquisition and development of the British Empire in the East. I need not repeat the truism, that Scottish men have always been foremost in foreign enterprise and adventure, but will point out what is equally true, though not perhaps so widely known, that, of all the shires of Scotland, none contributed so largely in this direction as Ayrshire.

There was hardly an Ayrshire family of note in the last or present centuries, which had not one or more of its cadets in India, either in the Military, Naval, or Civil services of the East India Company, or pursuing fortune as free merchants or sea-captains.

Ayrshire had, from the very earliest ages, been the battleground of contending kings and factions ; hardly an acre of its soil but had been imbrued with the blood of slain warriors, or murdered clansmen. From the time of the wars of Alpin with the Picts, when, as Wyntown, the venerable chronicler of Scotland, says :—

"He wan of were all Galluway :

Thare was he slayne, and dede away ;"

down to the last abortive attempt of Prince Charles Edward in 1745 to regain the throne of his ancestors, Ayrshire was in a periodical state of internecine warfare.

The Alcluyd Kingdom, of which Ayrshire formed a principal part, was involved in a series of wars, domestic and foreign, throughout the greater portion of its existence—sometimes with the Picts, sometimes with the Saxons, and constantly one clan against another. They defeated Aidan of Kintyre, at Airdrie in A. D. 577 ; and the Saxons in 584. In 642, they killed Donal-Breac, King of Kintyre, and slew his brother in battle in 649. In 681 they defeated the invading Irish Picts at Mauchline, and again in 702-3, at Cullinfield, but succumbed to King Arthur of the Round Table.

They waged a long and sanguinary war with the Scots, until peace was secured by the marriage of their King, Caw,

with the daughter of Kenneth II., King of Scots ; but scarcely had they thus secured peace with their neighbour, than in 870 the Vikings landed on the shores of the Clyde, and sacked Alcluyd, after a seige of four months' duration.

It would take up too much space to recapitulate the whole of the wars that devastated the shire in the early ages, nor would it be within the scope of this paper ; and I will only refer to some of the principal events, to illustrate my remarks regarding the scions of Ayrshire families who came out to seek their fortunes in the East.

One of the leading events between the accession of Edgar, son of Malcolm Canmore, and the death of the Maid of Norway, was the battle of the Standard, fought in 1138. Another, of even greater importance, was the battle of Largs in 1263, in which Haco, King of Norway, was defeated with great slaughter.

"The Kyng Alysandyre of Scotland
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Then followed the wars of Bruce and Wallace with the English garrisons of King Edward of England and his successors ; the troubles of the time of Mary, Queen of Scots ; throughout which Ayrshire was never free from strife.

Again, during the Civil War, few Ayrshire families escaped being involved in the struggle between Crown and Parliament ; and this was followed by the bloody strife of the Covenant, including the battles of Drumclog, or Loudoun Hill, and Bothwell Brig.

Ayrshire had its share in both the risings of 1715 and 1745 in the cause of the Royal Steuarts ; and very few families of any note but suffered severely in person, purse, and landed property.

What wonder, then, that the descendants of a fighting race, like the men of Ayrshire, should ever have been found foremost, wherever adventure was to be met with, and wealth to be acquired, to mend the broken fortunes of their families ; and, it is a matter of recent history, that a large proportion of the existing county families built up their present houses with the gatherings of the Indian pagoda tree.

There are no people on the face of the earth who are so thoroughly national, or who cling so stoutly to their national characteristics, in whatsoever part of the world they may be, as the sons of Scotland. They love their national traditions, their national feasts, and national dishes, their costume and their music, and the broad '*burr*' of their own tongue, with a fondness and fidelity possessed by no other people in the same degree ; it was but natural, therefore, that when a

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number of men of Ayr found themselves thrown together in a foreign clime, they should try to establish among them a reminiscence of their own well-beloved Western county, and as many of them (as was often the case with those who went abroad in those days) were Free Masons, they formed a Lodge, which they named after the mother Lodge of Scotland, and the parish in which most probably many of them were born, "KILWINNING IN THE EAST."

The origin of the name of Kilwinning is from the Scottish Saint St. Winnin, or Winning, who flourished about A. D. 700, and upon the site of whose 'Kil,' or chapel, the splendid monastery, or Abbey, of Kilwinning was erected (according to some accounts) by Hugo de Morville, Constable of Scotland, in the time of David I., A. D. 1140, but according to Pont, "It was foundit by a nobel Englichman, namit Sir Richard Morwell, fugitive from his owne country for ye slauchter of Thomas á Becket, Archbichope of Canterburrey (being one of them) in the raine of King Henry II. of England, quho, flying to Scotland, was by the then Scots King (Malcolm IV. he elsewhere affirms) velcomed and honored with ye offise of grate Constable of Scotland, as also enriched with ye Lordships of Cuninghame, Largis, and Lauderdaill, quhosse posterity for diverse generations possessed the said offises and lands.

Now ye forsaid Richard being as vald seime, touched with compunctione for ye safty of hes soule (according to the custome of these tymis,) did founde this Abbey of Kilvinnin in testimony of hes repentance, &c."

A party of foreign artisans, aided by such workmen as they found in Scotland qualified to join them, were engaged to build this Abbey. The architect, or master mason, who superintended the work, was chosen to be the master of all the Masonic bodies then working in Scotland; he gave rules for the conduct of the craftsmen at all meetings, and decided all disputes amongst the lodges.

Down to the fifteenth century little is known of the history of Free Masonry in Scotland, although an old French author writes in the thirteenth century, that—"Jacques, Lord Stewart *recus dans sa loge a Kilwin en Ecosse, en 1286, les Comtes de Gloucester et Ulster, l'un Anglois, l'autre Irlandois;*" and the Scottish King James I. presided as Grand Master. The successive Scottish Grand Masters held their Grand Lodges at Kilwinning down to 1736, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was constituted, and the Lord of Roslin, hereditary Grand Master, resigned his right and title thereto.

The Kilwinning brethren, however, long resisted what they considered the usurpation of their ancient rights, and continued to hold independent meetings and grant charters as before, till

1807, when the mother lodge relinquished her ancient privileges and joined the general Masonic body.

The Masonic fraternity will, probably, dispute the correctness of the following account of the origin of the Craft, claiming for it a much higher antiquity, even so far back as the building of King Solomon's Temple ; but Tytler, in his " History of Scotland," gives the following succinct history of the introduction of Masonry into Scotland.—" The art of executing very large and magnificent buildings in timber frame-work, was carried to high perfection in the Northern countries of Europe during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Owing, however, to the perishable nature of the materials and to accidents by fire, these buildings were frequently either destroyed, or reduced to a state of extreme decay ; so that the ruinous state of the ecclesiastical edifices in the northern parts of Europe became a serious subject of enquiry at Rome, and measures were taken to obviate the grievance. The Pope created several corporations of Roman and Italian architects and artisans, with high and exclusive privileges, especially with a power of settling the rates and prices of their labour by their own authority, and without being controlled by the municipal laws of the country where they worked. To the various Northern countries, where the churches had fallen into a state of decay, were these artists deputed. In consequence of the special privileges conferred upon them, they assumed to themselves the name of Free-Masons, and under this title became famous throughout Europe. These corporations from their first origin, possessed the power of taking apprentices, and admitting into their body such masons as they approved of in the countries where their works were carried on."

King James I. of Scotland settled an annual salary, to be paid by every master mason in Scotland to a grand master, chosen by the brethren and approved by the King. It was a *sine quâ non*, that the grand master should be of noble birth, or else a high dignitary of the Church. He had his deputies in the different towns and counties in Scotland. Every new brother paid him a fee at entrance. He was empowered to regulate and determine such matters in dispute between the founders and builders of churches and monasteries as it would have been improper to bring before a court of law. The office of Grand Master was conferred by King James II, on William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and Baron of Roslin, and by a subsequent charter of the same King, the office was made hereditary.

Although the charter and archives of Lodge " Kilwinning in the East " have, as I understand, been long lost, or destroyed, there is no doubt whatever that it was, if not the oldest, at least one of the very oldest Masonic Lodges in Calcutta, and must

have been established under a charter granted by the mother lodge of Scotland, at Kilwinning, and under the authority of the last of the hereditary Grand Masters. The Lodge was in existence down to the time of the Indian Mutiny, but when it ceased to exist I have been unable to ascertain.

Amongst the Masonic Notabilia in the Indian Freemason's Diary for 1891, I find the following reference to Lodge "Kilwinning in the East," which must, however, be incorrect:—"Warrant granted by the Grand Lodge of England for Lodge 'Kilwinning in the East,' No. 845, Calcutta (erased in 1845), 23rd December 1826." The original Kilwinning was more probably established in or about 1726, and was a Lodge under the Scottish constitution, and was certainly working long after 1845, as proved by certificates.

I have said that there was hardly an Ayrshire family of note which had not representatives in this country, and I will proceed to give a short account of some of the more prominent of them; it would be impossible to notice them all within the limits of a magazine article.

Turning first to the troublous time of the "Sack of Calcutta by the Nawab Suraj-ud-Dowlah," we shall find that several of the Ayrshire families had to mourn the fate of relatives who perished in that catastrophe. Almost first among the victims of the Black-hole we find the name of William Baillie, one of the Company's Civil servants. He was the grandson of William Baillie, of Monkton, a merchant of Edinburgh, and a resident proprietor of Kilwinning, where he was noted as one of the restorers of the ancient practice of archery, for which Kilwinning had always been famous.

The first of the family of whom I find any notice was "Hew Baillie in Kilwinning, 1651." This family had a very extensive, and, for many of its members, a very unfortunate connexion with this country. William Baillie perished in the Black-hole; his uncle Robert commanded an India ship, and of his three brothers,—Leslie died a Commodore in the Company's service; Robert commanded an East Indiaman; and Hugh, who was also bred to the sea, held a lucrative appointment in Calcutta, and acquired a handsome fortune. Three of his nephews, who were all in the Company's service, fell victims to the troublous times,—Hugh died in India; John was taken prisoner by Hyder, or Tippoo Sultan, at Conjeveram, and died or was put to death; William, who commanded the 4th Regiment N. I., or "Baillie's Battalion," was in command of the detachment which was destroyed by Hyder and Tippoo at Perambakum in September 1780, and died a prisoner at Seringapatam. A curious example of the vicissitudes of families is afforded by the history of the Baillie family estate. Owing to the

embarrassed circumstances of Hugh Baillie, the father of William, the victim of the Black-hole, the estate of Monkton, or Orangefield, was sold, the purchaser being one "James MacCrae of Blackheath, in the county of Kent, late Governor of Fort St. George in the East Indies." This person (also an Ayrshire man) was an orphan, who, in his boyhood, tried to earn a living by running errands, and was taken care of, out of charity, by one Hew Macquire, the town fiddler in Ayr. He went off to sea, and proved to be one of fortune's favourites; for he rose to be Governor of Madras, in which position he amassed a large fortune, and, on his return home, purchased several estates in the West of Scotland, including the Baillie property. He never married, and, on his death, left the bulk of his fortune to the descendants of his early friend the fiddler.

Another of the Black-hole victims was Stair Dalrymple, the seventh son of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Stair, one of the most ancient and illustrious Scottish houses. The sister of Stair Dalrymple was Anne, Countess of Craufurd and Balcarres.

Patrick Johnstone was a cadet of the Johnstones of Westerhall and also perished in the Black-hole.

Another Ayrshire family, largely connected with Calcutta, was that of Kelso of Kelsoland and Dankeith, the first of whom was Hugo de Kelso, Dominus de Kelsoland, whose name appears in the Ragman Roll in 1296. The first of the Kelsos connected with Calcutta was Robert Kelso, Captain of an East Indiaman, who, after acquiring a considerable fortune in the East, died in 1752. He was followed in his career by two of his grandsons,—Millar Kelso, who was drowned in the Hooghly; and George Kelso, who commanded an Indiaman, and married Miss Plumb, of Calcutta, some time in the last century. This name will be well known to the older residents of Calcutta in connection with the Bank of Bengal, between thirty and forty years ago.

Alexander Kelso, of the H. E. I. C. Service, after serving in this Presidency for some time, became Commissioner of Tranquebar during the war with the Danes, *inter* 1800—1811.

The last direct descendant of the elder branch of the family was William Kelso, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the H. E. I. C. Service, who died unmarried in 1844, but Archibald William Kelso, a Captain in the Durham Volunteer Artillery, who died in Calcutta in 1885, must have been a descendant, as he bore two of the most frequent family names.

Another link connecting the Kelsos with India was the marriage of John Kelso of Kelsoland, with Mary Hamilton, niece of James, first Viscount Claneboyes, which title merged in that of the ancestor of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, *temp.* 1671.

Another worthy from the same parish was William Fairlie, merchant, whose name survives in "Fairlie Place," he was one of the Fairlies of that Ilk near Largs.

The Warners of Ardeer were connected with India for several generations. The Rev. Patrick Warner was Chaplain of Fort St. George, on the coast of Coromandel, sometime between 1667 and 1677, in which year he returned to Scotland, and, having been concerned with the upholders of the Covenant, he was obliged, after the battle of Bothwell Brig, to flee to Holland, but, returning some time after, he suffered a long term of imprisonment and persecution. After the publication of King James' Indulgence, he became minister of Irvine, and lived to be the oldest minister in Scotland.

His grandson, William, born in 1717, was drowned in the Ganges, and another, John, a Surgeon in the H. E. I. C. S., died in Bombay in 1726.

One of the best examples of success in the Company's service is afforded by the career of Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle, whose sister Wilhelmina was the original of Burns' "Bonnie Lass O'Ballochmyle," a ballad written in the very year of the catastrophe of Calcutta. Miss Alexander, who could not have been less than 17 or 18 when she thus attracted the poet's notice, must have been considerably over a hundred years old at the time of her death, which took place in 1843.

The noble house of Kennedy of Culzean was represented in Bengal by two brothers, David and Fergus, sons of Archibald, Earl of Cassillis, and Marquis of Ailsa, both of whom were officers in the Military service of the Company.

The ancient family of Craufuird was represented by Moses Craufuird, who, coming out to Calcutta as a Surgeon's Assistant, was appointed an Ensign in the First Regiment of Infantry on the Bengal Establishment in 1766, and, as such, gave evidence at the Court Martial which sat upon the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher for mutiny. He was the son of Robert Craufuird, and his wife Marion Brison, heiress of Groateholme in Kilwinning, and rose to be a Major in the Company's service. His son, Archibald, was also a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Artillery, and his fourth son, Patrick, M.D., died in India.

The descendants of this branch of the Craufuirds claim to be Chief of the name; but this claim is untenable, as they descend from Hugh, younger brother of Sir Reginald Craufuird, Sheriff of Ayr, who died on the same scaffold with his illustrious cousin, Sir William Wallace. The elder branch, the Craufuirds of Baidland and Ardmillan, now of Grange, are descended from Sir Hugh Craufuird de Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr, the grandfather of the aforementioned Sir Reginald.

Fullarton of Fullarton, anciently spelt Foulertoun, the founder of the family having held the office of Fowler to the King (1250). James Fullarton of that Ilk (1634) was commissioned under the Great Seal by King Charles I, as Bailie of the Bailery of Kyle-Stewart.

One of the first members of this family connected with Bengal, was Dr. William Fullarton, Surgeon to the garrison of Patna, who was distinguished in his own profession, in the exercise of which he had endeared himself to the natives, so that he alone of all the European officers, was saved from the massacre of the Patna garrison by the renegade Sumroo, on the 5th October 1763. He was also a gallant soldier; for not only did he behave with the greatest gallantry at the assault of Patna, driving back, with the assistance of volunteers and some of the Company's sipahis, the French soldiers under Monsieur Law, who had planted their scaling ladders, and actually gained a footing on the ramparts, but, at the previous action of Musseempore, being the only European officer surviving of the detachment, he effected a masterly retreat, carrying off the guns, in the face of an overwhelming force of the enemy, by which they were almost entirely surrounded.

Another of the family, John Fullarton, was an officer in the military service of the Company.

Colonel William Fullarton projected the expedition against the Spaniards in 1780, and, in conjunction with Major Mackenzie of Humberstone, raised a force of two thousand men at their own expense; this force was, however, diverted from its original purpose, and eventually served in India, Colonel Fullarton being appointed to the command of the Southern army on the coast of Coromandel.

In 1792 he married Mariamne, eldest daughter of George, 5th Lord Reay, ancestor of the late Governor of Bombay, by his wife, Elizabeth Fairlie, of Fairlie, thus making another link in the chain of Ayrshire worthies connected with this country.

Later members of the family were James Fullarton, Lieutenant-Colonel, H. E. I. C. S. (1801); Robert, M. D., Surgeon, H. E. I. C. S. (1806); Stewart Murray, Captain, H. E. I. C. S. (1807); Craufurd, Lieutenant, H. E. I. C. S. (1821).

The Hamiltons of Sundrum are an off-set of the Hamiltons of Broomhill. Robert Hamilton married Janet Blackwood, daughter of Robert Blackwood, ancestor of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, late Viceroy and Governor-General of India. John Hamilton, while in command of the H. E. I. C. S. "*Bombay Castle*," one of the best known of the old Company's fleet, captured "*La Medée*," a French frigate of 36 guns and 330 men, on the 5th August 1800.

He had, as two of his officers, his brothers Archibald and

Montgomery, both of whom eventually became Commanders in the Company's service ; Archibald was placed in command of the prize, and carried her into Rio de Janiero, where the vessel, proving unseaworthy, was sold to the Portuguese. At Sundrum House are still preserved four small brass guns, trophies of this action.

Captain Hamilton was still in command of the "*Bombay Castle*," when, as one of the H. E. I. C.'s fleet, commanded by Commodore Nathaniel Dance, of the "*Earl Cambden*," on the homeward voyage from China, they beat off the squadron of Admiral Linois, consisting of the line of battle-ship "*Marengo*," of 84 guns, the "*Belle Poule*" and "*Semillante*," heavy frigates, a corvette of 28, and the Batavian brig, the "*William*," of 18 guns, thereby preserving the Honourable Company's property, valued at eight millions sterling. For this gallant action Captain Hamilton, in common with the other Commanders, received a sword valued at 50 guineas and a purse of 500 guineas.

A son of Captain Hamilton's, Archibald, was in the Company's Civil service and died in India.

The Captain Alexander Hamilton who visited Calcutta in about 1710, and has left on record his impressions of the settlement at that early period, was most probably either one of the Hamiltons of Cambuskeith, one of whose family names was Alexander, and many of whose members followed the sea ; or one of the family of Ardoch.

The once well known firm of Ferguson Brothers and Co., Calcutta, was established by John Ferguson of Doonholme, one of the Fergusons of Castle-hill. According to the history of the county, Mr. Ferguson went to India when a young man, and rose to great eminence, as one of the most enlightened and enterprising of British merchants. He made a handsome fortune, and established in Calcutta a mercantile house which long continued to perpetuate his name, and to be distinguished over the whole of India. The firm is now extinct, and the last member of it, J. Beckwith, Esquire, once one of the best known sportsmen in Bengal, died at an extreme old age at home in this present year.

There is still a long roll of Ayrshire men connected with this country, but space will not allow me to do more than mention their names. Among these were the Hunters of Abbotshill, who succeeded to the Fergusons at Doonholme ; the MacNeights of Barns ; Montgomeries of Braidstane ; Auchinleck of that Ilk ; Kennedy of Bennane ; Ralstoun of that Ilk ; Shedden of Morrishill ; Patrick of Drumbuie ; Chalmers of Gadgirth ; Cathcart of Carbiston ; Wallace of Cairnhill ; Neill of Barnweill ; Rankin of Whitehill ; McRedie of Perceton ; Buchanan of

Cuninghamehead ; Montgomerie of Annick ; Cameron of Craighouse ; McKerrill of Hillhouse ; Dunlop of Dunlop ; and many others too numerous to mention.

The Western county has reason to be proud of the share her sons had in the acquisition and establishment of the great Indian Empire.

REGINALD CRAUFUIRD-STERNDALÉ.

ART. X.—A GLIMPSE OF BENGAL IN THE 16TH
CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

SOME particulars of the history of the people of Bengal, of a time not, however, anterior to the 16th century, are available in the scanty Vernacular poetical literature of the period. These materials have not yet been brought together, and it may not be labour lost to collect them for such use as the future historian may choose to make of them. They are not valuable as records of striking events, such as ordinarily find place in histories, but as records from native sources, of how the people lived, how they felt, and what was the limit of their intellectual progress. In collecting these materials, care must be taken to sift them from poetic imageries and imitations from Sanscrit sources. The works of the few poets who had anything of merit about them, have been preserved to this day, and of these few, Kavi Kankan was one of the best of Bengal.

Mukand Ram Chakravarti, better known as Kavi Kankan, the author of the poetical work *Chandi*, or *Chandi Mangal*, was born at Dhamania, a small village in Thana Selimabad, in the district of Burdwan, which has the honor of being the birth-place of more than one of Bengal's early poets. He was a Brahmin of the Rahri class, and was the grandson of Jagan Nath Misir, and the son of Rhidhoy Misir. Rhidhoy Misir had two sons, Kavi Chandra, and our poet, Mukand Ram.

Following the example of some of the later Sanscrit authors and the Bengali poets who preceded him, Kavi Kankan, in one of his Bhanaties (ভণতি) (a couplet at the end of a chapter, disclosing the authorship), describes his family thus :—

“This poem is composed, at the command of the Goddess Chandi, by Kavi Kankan, younger brother of Kavi Chandra, the beloved son of Rhidhoy Misir, son of Jagan Nath Misir.”

The title, “Kavi Kankan,” appears to have been bestowed on Mukand Ram by his patrons and contemporaries on account of his poetical genius. The Kavi Chandra, given in the above lines as the name of his elder brother, seems also to be a title, and not the real name, and it is probable that the brother, too, was a poet, though his poetical works are not now extant. Probably he was the writer of the early Bengali poem, *Datta Karna* (*Karna, the Charitable*), which formed a part of *Shishu-bodhuck* (শিশু বোধক), that was the Bengali primer, before it was superseded by the excellent primers of Modan Mohan Tar-kalankar and Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar ; for, in one of

the Bhanaties of *Datta Karna*, we find : "By the grace of Vyas, the Dwija (Brahmin), Kavi Chandra sings ; and he who gets it (*Datta Karna*) recited, comes to have sons and riches."

The family name, "Misra," the same as the Misra class of Brahmins of Upper India, which scarcely exists as a family name amongst the Bengal Brahmins of the present date, appears to have been retained till then ; but it gave place to the family designation "Chakravarti," of the modern Brahmins, in the time of our poet.

It is not difficult to fix the approximate date of Kavi Kankan. He begins his work by narrating the circumstances under which he had to leave his native village Dhamania, on account of the exactions of tax-collectors, during the time when Man Sinha was Subadar of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as a sort of prelude to his work. Therein he says :—

"Hear, assembled people all, how the poem originated ? It was on a sudden that the Goddess Chandi, descending from on high, sat by the head of the sleeping poet, assuming the form of his mother. There lived in the township of Selimabad, Neogy Gopinath, an honest Raja. We lived and tilled lands in Dhamania, in his taluk, for six or seven generations. All praise to Raja Man Sinha, the bee to the lotus foot of Vishnu, King of Gour, Banga and Utkal ! During the reign of the above Man Sinha, on account of the sins of the people, Muhammad Sharif got the Khillat ; Raijada became his minister ; the merchants and traders became alarmed, and the *régime* became the foe of Brahmins and Vaishnavs. They measured lands, by placing ropes on the angular sides of fields, and they measured 15 *cottahs* to a *bigha*. They disregarded the cries of the rayats. They came to be the death of many people, and they entered unculturable lands as culturable. They exacted compensation, without conferring any corresponding benefit. The *poddars* (money-changers) became *Jom* (death). For every rupee they gave you $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas less, while they took for themselves as interest one pie per day per rupee.

"A *khoja*, who, in his angry mood, paid no sort of regard to the poverty of the people, became *Dihidar* (village official). His anger could only be appeased by presents of rupees, but there was nobody to buy your cow and paddy. Our lord, Gopinath Neogy, by an accident, came to be arrested, and there were no means for his release. *Peadas* were all about, for fear the rayats should abscond, and kept guard at every man's door. The rayats were sore of heart. They sold their stock of rice, paddy and cows from day to day, and articles worth a rupee sold for ten annas. Srimant Khan, of Chandighur, was of help to me, and, taking counsel with Gambhir Khan, I left Dhamania ; Ramanand Bhye accompanied me, having

met me on the way. We reached Telegawa. Ruprae assisted me, and Jadu Kundu Teli protected us. He gave us his own house to live in, allayed our fear, and gave us alms which sufficed for three days. Descending the river Garain with the stream, with our minds fixed on Providence, we arrived at Teota. Passing Darakeshwar, we arrived at my maternal uncle's house, and Gangadhur conferred on us many favours.

"Leaving Narain, Parasar and Amodar, we arrived at Gokra. My bath was without oil, water only was my drink and food, and my infant child cried for hunger. Sheltering myself under the raised bank of a tank, and with offerings of *shallook* (tuberous roots of the water lily), I offered my *pujah* to the mother of Kumud. Overpowered by hunger, fear and fatigue, I fell asleep, when Chandi appeared to me in a dream. She was all gracious, and, offering me the shelter of her feet, she bade me compose this song.

"Leaving Gokhra, accompanied by *Ramanand Bhye*, we arrived at Arrha.

"Arrha is Brahmin land, and a Brahmin is its lord, as wise as Vyas. I addressed this lord of men (নরপতি) in poetic stanzas, and he gave me 10 *arrahs* of paddy. Son of the brave Madhav, he, Bankura Dev, possessed of all virtues, employed me thenceforth as a tutor to his boy. The boy Raghunath, unequalled in beauty of mind and body, accepted me as his *guru* (tutor).

"I learnt the *mantra*, which she (Goddess Chandi) inspired me with, and I long meditated on this *Maha-mantra*. Then I took the leaf and the ink, and she (Goddess Chandi), sitting on my reed pen, caused poetry to be written by me in different kinds of stanzas. *Bhye Ramanand* was my companion. He knew all about my dream, and always took the greatest care of me.

"By order of Raghunath, lord of men, the songster who has got his dress and ornaments, daily rehearses the song—Praise be to Raja Raghunath, who has no equal in caste-dignity, and who is unrivalled in courtesy of demeanour! By his order Sri Kavi Kankan sings, and a new religious poem (*Mangal*) receives publicity."

The poem, like all works in Sanscrit and the Vernacular, was preserved in manuscripts, and, as in case of other Vernacular *Mangals* (religious poems), in the memory of those songsters who made it their business to give recitals thereof. Various readings crept in, for the same reasons for which different readings got in other ancient works before the introduction of printing. With the introduction of printing in Bengal, some of the popular Bengali religious poems were printed. *Battollah*, the Grub-street of Calcutta, undertook the printing in its

presses. All honour to *Battollah*, which, though now another word in Bengali for cheap and nasty printing, was thus the pioneer in a useful undertaking. But *Battollah* printed the works as it found them, and the men into whose hands the proof-sheets passed, wherever they found anything unintelligible, substituted in its place insipid lines of their own composing. We have various examples of this in the poem *Chandi*, which took *Battollah* very early in hand. Pandit Ramgati Nyaratna, author of a very excellent treatise on the 'History of Bengali Literature,' found in a copy preserved in the house of the descendants of Raja Raghunath Dev, under whose patronage the poem *Chandi* was composed, readings of the introductory portion of the poem, the substance of which is given above, different in some places from that which is given in the bazar copies.

This manuscript copy, said to have been written by the poet himself, gives the lines with respect to Raja Man Sinha thus:—"All praise to Raja Man Sinha, the bee to the lotus feet of Vishnu, to all Gour, Banga and Utkal! During the reign of *the infidel king*, on account of the sins of the people, Muhammad Sharif got the Khillat." This would, perhaps, mean that Muhammad Sharif got the Khillat during the disorders of Usman's invasion of Bengal, which took place in A. D. 1600; for the poet could not have referred to Raja Man Sinha, as the infidel king, when he describes him in the preceding lines as *the bee to the lotus feet of Vishnu*. The time, therefore, when the poet left his native village of Dhamania, appears to have been the year 1600 A. D. It is just possible that the poet allowed both readings to pass in recitals of the poem as we find to be the practice in Bengali recitations even now, sometimes the recital being "during the reign of Man Sinha," and, at other times, "during the time of the infidel king," both intended to indicate and emphasize a particular year of disorder, when the poet had to fly from his native village.

But it is not to much purpose to determine the particular year in which the poet thus introduces his poem. It is sufficient for the purpose in hand, if we can sufficiently indicate the time when he flourished, and to which his descriptions apply. It is clear from the above that he flourished when Man Sinha was Governor of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Man Sinha was appointed Governor of Behar in the 32nd year of the reign of Akbar (A. D. 1588). He remained in the Eastern provinces till the 44th year of that reign (A. D. 1600), when he, by Akbar's order, joined the forces then in the Deccan (Blochman's *Ayin Akbari*, p. 340), leaving Bengal in charge of Jagat Sinha, his son, who died shortly after. The Afghans, under Usman, availing themselves of the opportunity, emerged

from Orissa, defeated the imperial forces near Bhadrak, and occupied a great portion of Bengal.

Man Sinha hastened back over the Rohtas, defeated the Afghans near Sherepur Attai, and obliged Usman to retire to Orissa. From this time up to the 3rd year of Jehangir's reign (A. D. 1608) he remained in Bengal and Behar. Our poet flourished during this time (1588-1608).

There is an invocation to Chaitanya, with which, amongst others, the poet begins. Now Chaitanya was born at Navadip in the Saka year 1407 (corresponding to 1485 A. D.), and he expired at Puri in the Saka year 1455 (corresponding to 1533 A. D.).

Makundram evidently flourished after Chaitanya, and between the years 1533 and 1600, *i. e.*, within only 70 years of the death of the religious reformer, his religion appears to have taken deep root in Bengal; he himself came to be deified almost as a god, and is called a Sanyasi Churamani by our poet, and his followers, Vaishnavs, are spoken in the same breath as Brahmins, and allowed some of the Brahminical privileges, amongst others, rent-free grants of land.

The descendants both of the poet and of his patrons are still living. The former now live in the village of "Baenan," a few miles distant from Dhamania, the birthplace of the poet. Pandit Ramgati Nyaratna made some enquiries of them. They, too, have a manuscript said to have been written by the poet in red *alta* instead of ink, which they worship, but they cannot say how many generations they are removed from the poet; the descendants of the patron Raja Raghunath Rai now live at Senapati, a village 4 miles distant from the village of Arrha, the seat of Raja Raghunath Rai, and are now ordinary zemindars. They are, according to their own account, ten generations removed from Raja Raghunath Rai; and from the family records it is found that Raghunath Rai was Raja between the years 1573 A. D. and 1603 A. D., but during a great part of the period he must have been called a Raja by courtesy; for we find his father, Raja Bankura Rai, living in 1600 A. D., and his son a boy whose education was entrusted to the poet.

There is also a chronogram as to the date of the poem, in the bazar editions now extant. Whether the chronogram exists in the manuscript copies, said to be in the handwriting of the poet, we cannot say. The chronogram is in the following words:—

“শকে রসে রস বেদ শশাঙ্ক গণিতা ।

কত দিনে দিল গীত হরের বণিতা ॥”

—“Saka rasa ras ved sasanka ganita, &c.,”—the ordinary reading of which is 1466 Sakavda (corresponding to 1544 A. D.). This

would place the date of the poet and of the poem 44 years before the time when Man Sinha first came to Behar. Pandit Ramgati rejects it as an interpolation ; but if the chronogram was really appended by the poet, he would read it as meaning 1499 Sakavda (corresponding to 1577 A. D.), as the word *ras* (রস) may also stand for the figure 9. This, too, would be some years before Man Sinha came to Bengal and Behar. The only explanation possible is that the whole poem was composed some years before, and the introductory portion written subsequently, at the date when the poet had to leave his native village. However, as we said before, we are not concerned with the exact date.

The villages were situated in talukas. The revenue collection and criminal administration in the case of smaller offences, with the power of arrest of offenders in grave cases, as also the administration of civil justice, with perhaps an appeal to the Subadar, were entrusted, as of old under the Hindu system, to *lords of villages*, who came to be called, under the revenue system of the Moghuls, zemindars. They were popularly known as (নরপতি) lords of men, Rajas, and, being the units of administration under the Mahomedan régime, they had more extensive powers than the zemindars of our regulations. They were in fact vassal princes, who had, until Todar Mal's revenue settlements, only a certain amount of tribute to pay to the paramount power. Their head-quarters used to be called a *sahar* (town), and they lived within a *garh* (fortified place). At the time of our poet, Bengal appears to have been dotted with these petty chieftainships, townships and *garhs*. Gopinath Neogy, probably a Kayesth, was such a chief, who had let out a large part of his estate rent-free to Brahmins and Vaishnavs. He was probably a victim of Akbar's new settlement, which was introduced in Bengal by Todar Mal in A. D. 1575-1583 (*vide Ayin Akbari*, pp. 351-352), or of the exactions of those who were appointed to carry out such settlements. He was imprisoned for default of payment of revenue by Muhammad Sharif, probably the Naib Subadar, the Subadar's district agent, whose native subordinate was Rajada, "*the foe of Brahmins and Vaishnavs*," because, perhaps, he carried out, under the terms of the new settlement, the resumption of all rent-free grants.

On Gopinath's arrest, the process adopted was what is even now known in zemindari management in Behar as the appointment of a *Sazawal*. It is somewhat like this ; The zemindar grants a lease with a stipulation that, in case of default, a *Sazawal* (meaning a collector of rent) is to be appointed by the

zemindar to collect rent in supercession of the lessee, and the appointment of the *Sazawal* to last till all arrears have been realized. The process is also known in our revenue system, under which the collector can, under some circumstances, realize certain Government dues by appointing a Tehsildar, and realizing the zemindars' dues from the rayats. An official called a *Dehidar*—a *khoja*—who, according to our poet, "in his angry mood, paid no sort of regard to the poverty of the people," and whose office corresponded to that of the *Sazawal*, was appointed. He was to collect all rent due to Gopinath Neogy from the rayats, but as this involved payment all at once, under, perhaps, Police and Military coercion, without that kind of indulgence which the good Raja Gopinath showed to his rayats, the rayats began to desert. Thanadars were posted at the rayats' doors to keep guard lest they would abscond. They could pay only by selling their stock of cattle and paddy; but, as every one had to sell and there were not many to buy, a rupee's worth sold for ten annas.

Another resource of poor people in extremities is the Mahajan, but the *poddar* (money-changer) of the village, who had a double character, in his character of a receiver of the Government dues, received a rupee at $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas discount (this refers to the elaborate *batta*-system introduced by Todar Mal), and in that of a *mahajan* charged as interest one pice per rupee per diem. The poet, eluding the vigilance of the guards, probably by their connivance, fled from his village, leaving behind him his ancestral home, always very dear to a Hindu, and the *jote* which he and his ancestor before him had cultivated for six or seven generations, with his wife and children, to seek a home and livelihood elsewhere. It was a flight against the orders of the authorities, and the poet had to remain in hiding for fear of arrest, while, of course, all the household gods had to be left behind.

It is not necessary to suppose a very rampant state of mal-administration of the district in the time of the poet, from the account here given. The case appears to be parallel to that which overtook several zemindars and their tenants at the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793.

The poet, probably, was in the enjoyment of a rent-free grant of land under a pious Kayestha landlord, or a large area at a small quit-rent. The Todar Mal settlement resumed all such grants, and assessed them for revenue purposes according to their quality. There appears also to have been a stricter measurement of the lands by a standard pole, the effect of which was to increase the area of the rayats' holding; and lands not actually waste were marked as culturable and assessable. The new settlement rules also provided for the depreciation of

the current coin by wear and tear, laying down elaborate rules for charging *batta*. The effects of this greater strictness, were felt as a hardship by the people. But what caused much misery in this instance was the change in the position of the poet. Perhaps the poem would not have come into existence, if it had been otherwise. His family had long lived at their ancestral abode on the produce of a few bighas of Brahmottar land. They were a family of Brahmins, respected by all their neighbours, living on their own resources, without much personal labour, for the cultivation was carried on by hired servants, with ample leisure to learn and think. The poet appears to have been very well read in Sanscrit literature and the Purans. Perhaps, too, he had some knowledge of music, which served him in good stead when evil days befell him. He addressed his new patron, not living very far from the zemindari of Gopinath Neogy (a fact which shows that there was no general mal-administration, but that our poet's case was a hard one under the new settlement), in poetical stanzas, and at once got into favour, receiving a present of 10 *arrahs* (measure of paddy) for his present needs and gracious promises for the future. Under such changed circumstances in the life of the poet, the composition of the poem went on.

The above narrative also reveals a pleasing picture of hospitality amongst the lower and poorer classes, and of that willingness to assist people in distress, which characterized and still characterizes the people of Bengal. Jadu Kundu Teli, who went to live, perhaps, in one of his out-offices, giving his house to the fugitive poet and his family to live in, has still, we are happy to say, his type amongst the lower classes of our people.

The "*Ramanand Bhye*" of the above extract is another side picture, which, perhaps, is scarcely intelligible to those who are unacquainted with the domestic relations of the Bengalis of a bygone age. It exhibits a tender trait in ancient Bengali character, creditable to both masters and servants. Ramanand appears to have been a family domestic servant, if not a serf, older in years than the poet, and therefore the poet speaks of him as '*Ramanand Bhye*' (brother Ramanand), he does not leave his master, in his vicissitude of fortune.

We get a glimpse of how, in those days, the rich people, who were popularly called Rajas, encouraged literature and learning. An assembly of learned men graced their little courts, and the poetical composition of some among them beguiled their leisure hours. The Muhammad Sharif, and Raijadas, as an oppressive type of Government servants, were held up to public execration, not in newspapers, but in verses recited in such courts, and, with characteristic simplicity, all oppression of the oppressors was set down to the "sins of the people."

We also discover how the poems came to the public notice, and how anything worth preserving was preserved. The poets lived in the courts of their patrons, and as soon as a piece was finished, it was recited in melodious tones to the assembled multitude. A *pujah* of the deity, who figured conspicuously in the poem, was the occasion. After the *pujah*, which of course need not have been very ostentatious, in the *Natmandir*, before the god or goddess, commenced the song. The usual time in most cases was the *pujahs* in the morning, and that of the recital of the poem in the afternoon. The head songster, with *chamor* (চামর) in hand (waving it perhaps in adoration of the deity, the special god of the poem, and perhaps also as an accompaniment to the expression of feelings of the piece) led, and a number of men, some with *chamors* and others with *manjiras* (মঞ্জিরা), beating time, sang in chorus some snatches of the song, ordinarily the last line of a poetical stanza. If it amused the people assembled, the *pujah* and the song were repeated at other houses, and thus the whole thing was perpetuated.

The poems are called *mangals*, which primarily means welfare, joy; and, in a secondary sense, means joy in honour of a deity. The subject of the poem under notice is also religious. It is in honour of the Goddess Chandi. The story, or rather stories, for there are two, do not appear to be borrowed from any of the known Purans, though the poet would lead one to suppose so. They are the poet's own, or, as Pandit Ramgati Nyaratna supposes, the stories may have had their origin in some fragment of folklore previously current. There is not much of artistic beauty in the story of the poem as a whole; it is rather common-place, and somewhat absurd. It is in two respects,—in the delineation of characters of Bengali men and women, and in the true pictures of the every-day life of the people of his time, which the poet paints,—that its merits lie.

The object of the poem is to popularize the worship of the Goddess Chandi, amongst others, in her form of *Kamala-Kamini*, a beautiful damsel standing, or sitting, on a lotus growing on the surface of a fathomless deep, and taking in and out of her mouth an elephant, standing on the same lotus; and in that of *Mahish Mardini*, the form in which she is ordinarily worshipped, as the Goddess Durga, in Bengal. Both the pieces begin in heaven.

Chandi is anxious that her worship shall be popular on earth; Nilambar, a son of Indra, for some slight offence, or no offence, is cursed to be born on earth, of a woman; he fades away to assume his mortal coil, and his disconsolate and faithful spouse ascends the funeral pile. They are born

of women of the hunter caste, and when they grow up, are united in marriage and pass a life of misery and toil as a hunter and his wife, until Chandi takes pity on them, of course not without the selfish object of propagating on earth a belief in herself, gives the hunter, whose name is now Kalkathu (a precious jewel), which brings to him unlimited sums of money, and directs him to clear out the jungles of Guzrat and there to found a city. He does so. Chandi, by a flood, destroys the town of Kalinga, in order to drive the people to the town founded by her favourite Kalkathu. The Raja of Kalinga, instigated thereto by a Kaestha, by name Bharoo Datta, attacks the new town of Guzrat. He is at first worsted ; but Chandi, taking into consideration that Nilambar's term on earth is shortly to end, and that her worship must spread before that time, deprives Kalkathu of his extraordinary prowess. He is taken prisoner, but the Raja of Kalinga and his ministers are asked—of course, in dreams—by the Goddess Chandi, to let him off. They compare their dreams on rising in the morning, and, all agreeing, Kalkathu is let off, shortly to ascend to heaven with his celestial spouse. Their infant son becomes the Raja of Guzrat, under the care of the Raja of Kalinga, and both adopt the worship of Chandi for themselves and for their subjects.

In the second story, for a precisely similar purpose and for reasons as trivial, Ratnamala, a celestial nymph, is cursed by Chandi to be born as a mortal, and, in consequence of her entreaties, Chandi promises to watch over her while she devotes herself to the task of propagating her worship amongst mortals. For this, it is of the utmost importance that she should be able to induce some of the worshippers of the great God Shiva to adopt the worship of his consort. Ratnamala, who is called Khuluna when she takes her birth on earth, becomes, on account of this divine purpose, the second wife of Dhanapati Soudagur, a devout worshipper of Shiva and the merchant functionary attached to the great Court of Ujaini, the King of which, according to the poetical conception, reigned over a kingdom which comprised an area no greater than the district of Burdwan. Khuluna's troubles in this world, therefore, commenced early. Taking advantage of the absence of Dhanapati on a frivolous errand of his King, to the King of Gour, Lohana, the first wife, forces her to take on herself the task of tending the family goats. After some months of misery spent in this base service, she is pitied, according to promise, by Chandi, who appears in a dream to Dhanapati at Gour and makes him return home with all expedition. Before his arrival, however, Lohana brings Khuluna home, decks her with ornaments, &c., and prepares her to receive her lord. Khuluna complains to the husband of the treatment she has received, but a few sweet words to

her and a little scolding to the co-wife appease her. A serious trouble is, however, in reserve. During the annual *shradh* of Dhanapati's deceased father, there is a vast assemblage of his caste men (Ganda Vanik) in his house. Dhanapati offends some by giving precedence to others; and, in consequence, they rake up reports and scandals, and refuse to take their food at his house, because he had received into his bed a woman who had to wander in the jungles tending goats. Dhanapati is sore annoyed with himself and his first wife Lohana; but Khuluna extricates him from the difficulty, by agreeing to accept any ordeal which might be proposed, to test her fidelity to the nuptial bed. Then there are ordeals through which she passes most successfully, and which satisfy the most hostile and incredulous.

This difficulty over, the stock of sandal-wood, spices, &c., things of a sort which Ujaini people get from foreign lands, becomes exhausted, whereon the Raja of Ujaini orders Dhanapati to go to Ceylon, to get, in exchange for the produce of the country, such things as the Ujaini people want for themselves. At his going he proves very disrespectful to Chandi, whom he sees his wife Khuluna worship, and for this all his vessels, excepting one, founder in a storm in the river Ganges, at a place called Magara. Chandi appears to him in the form of *Kamala-Kamini*, at Kalidaha (a fathomless deep of blackwater), on his way to Ceylon.

On arriving at Ceylon with his single vessel and reporting what he has seen at Kalidaha, he is asked to verify his statement, and, on failing to do so, he is imprisoned for attempting deception. Khuluna was *enciente*, and Malakar, a celestial musician, being cursed by Chandi for the purposes noted above and for an offence not more serious, is born of her. He grows up, and by his 12th year has acquired knowledge of all branches of Sanscrit learning. He becomes so fond of scholastic wrangling as one day to offend, by his conceit and priggishness, his tutor, who, an old Brahmin, becomes very much enraged at something Malakar, *alias* Srimant, says, and, exhibiting a Brahmanic or un-Brahmanic temper, taunts him and his by referring to his birth, and the conduct of his mother, in not till then accepting widowhood though his father had been missing for 12 years. This annoys Srimanta, and he shuts himself up in his room till his mother tells him all about his father's whereabouts, and gives her consent to his going to Ceylon in search of him.

All difficulties in the way are smoothed by the Goddess Chandi. A number of sea-going vessels constructed by the heavenly carpenter, Viswakarma, with the aid of Hunooman, the Monkey Chief, spring up in a night. Srimanta goes to Ceylon, being

protected on the way by the divine interposition of Chandi. He sees *Kamala-Kamini*, as his father saw her before him, and, on his arrival at the Singalese court, he reports it to the King, and, failing to verify his story, is taken, bound, to the place of execution to be beheaded. Then Chandi interposes again, fights the whole host of the Singalese forces and kills them, to revive them all, when the Raja appeases her by worship and promises to give his daughter in marriage to Srimanta, his scruples on the ground of caste being removed by what Chandi told him. Srimanta, however, will not marry till he shall find his father; whereon a search is instituted in the prisons, and Dhanapati is found. The marriage follows, and they return home, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the King, Queen and the rest to let *Srimanta* depart with his spouse.

On their return, Srimanta, during a visit to the King of Ujaini, notwithstanding his previous experience, narrates what he has seen at Kalidaha. He is taken for a cheat and a liar and required to verify his story on pain of death. Chandi here interposes again, appearing to the King and his assembled ministers in the form of *Kamala-Kamini*. The King, though evidently a Kshetriya, gives his daughter in marriage to Srimanta; and Dhanapati, seeing that Shiv and Gouri, in twain, make one, accepts the worship of the female divinity, and is thereon blessed, all his illnesses being forthwith removed.

The allotted time of Ratnamala Malakar and his two wives on earth having ended, they ascend to heaven in a celestial car, Dhanapati being consoled with the birth of another son, and this time out of the womb of the barren Lohana.

These are the main arguments of the stories, out of which we have selected the few following descriptive pieces to show what Bengal and the Bengalis were at the date of the poet:—

FOUNDATION OF A TOWN IN A COUNTRY CALLED GUZRAT.

“Leaving the city of Kalinga, the rayats of all castes settled in the city of the Bir (the brave) [the hunter Kalkathu of the story] with their household gods. Accepting the pan (*betel*) of the Bir, in token of their consent to the agreement, the Mussalmans settled there, the western end of the town being assigned to them as their abode. There came Moghuls, Pathans, Kazis mounted on horses, and the Bir gave them rent-free lands for houses. At the extreme western end of their settlement they made their *Hoseinbatti* (place of *Mohurrum Tazia*), and they congregated all about the place. They rise very early in the morning, and, spreading a red *patty* (mat), they make their *namajes* five times during the day. Counting the Sulaimani beads, they meditate on Pir Paigumbar. Each of them contributes to the decoration of the *Mokam* (the Hosein's house).

Ten or twenty Birdars sit together and decide cases, always referring to the *Koran*; while others, sitting in the market-place, distribute the *Pir shirni* (the confectioneries offered to the *Pir*), beat the drum and raise the flag. They are very wise according to their own estimation; they never yield to any one, and they never give up the *roza* (fast) as long as they have life in them.

"Their appearance is rather formidable. They have no hair on the heads, but they allow their beards to grow down to their chest.

"They always adhere to their own ways. They wear on their head a *topi* (cap) which has ten sides, and they wear what they call an *ijar* (*paijama*), tied tight round the waist. If they meet one who is bare-headed, they pass him by without uttering a word, but, going aside, they throw clods of earth at him. Many *Mians* with their followers settled there; they do not use water, but wipe their hands on their clothes after taking their food.

All four classes of Pathans settled there. Some contract *nikas*, and others marry. The Mollahs, for reading the *nika*, get a gift of a *sikka* (4-anna bit) and bless the pair by reading the *Kulma*. With a sharp knife they (the Mollahs) butcher the fowl (মুরগি) and get ten *gandas of cowries* (less than $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of a copper pice) for the job. For butchering a she-goat (*bakri*), the Mollah gets six *bouries of cowries* (about a copper pice), as also the head of the animal killed.

"By making the *Roza Nemaj*, some become *Gola* (Moghul), while by accepting the occupation of weavers, one becomes a *Jolha*. Those who drive pack bullocks call themselves *Mookheri*. Those who sell cakes call themselves *Pitari*. Those who sell fish are called *Kabari* (a people who wear no beards, and pay no regard to truth). Those who, being Hindus, become Mussalmans are called *Gorsal* (mixed). Those who beg for alms are called *Kals*. Those who make the weavers' looms, call themselves *Sulakars* (a people who make a living out of the *Tantis*). Some go from town to town making colored stripes. Some make bows and are called *Tirgars*, while those who make paper are called *Kagozis*. Some wander about night and day and are called Kalandars (*Fakirs*)."

A description of the Hindu quarters follows:—One quarter is called *Kulastan* (the *Bhadralogue* quarter) where live the *Rarhi* Brahmins and the *Barendra* Brahmins, with their temples and *toles* (schools). The poet then proceeds: "Here also live the unlettered Brahmins. They officiate as priests, and teach the rituals of *pujah*. They mark their forehead with sandal, or with *Tilak* marks, they worship *Devatas* (idols), and run from house to house with bundles of offered rice tied in their cloth.

They get a pice worth of sweetmeat in the house of the sweetmeat seller ; they get a vessel full of curdled milk in that of the milkman ; while the oilman give them their cup full of oil. They get their monthly *cowries* from some houses and their *dalbaris* (dried balls of pulse) from others. The village priest thus swims in happiness.

" In the town of Guzrat, the citizens perform *shradhs*, the village priest officiating at the ceremony.

The *mantras* over, the Brahmin declares the *dakshina* (final present) to be a *kahan* (a little more than three annas of the present coin), and they haggle for the *dakshina*, tying the hand of the *Jusman* (person for whom the priest officiates) with *Kusa* grass."

" The Ghatak Brahmins live by abuses. Their occupation is the reading of the *Kulapanji* (genealogies). People who do not secure their good will by presents, are abused at *Sobhas* till such time as the presents come."

We have, after this, a description of the astrologers, Sanniasis, Vaishnavs, Khetris, Rajputs, Bhâts, and of the Vaisyas. Regarding the latter the poet says : " They serve Krishna. Some till lands, others tend cows. Some act as carriers with pack bullocks, while some make purchases, at the proper seasons, growing crops, to sell them when the markets rise. Some travel from place to place, making purchases of precious stones. Some arrange for long journeys in boats with various goods, and bring back with them *chamors*, sandal wood and *conch* shells, Bhutia *chamors*, shawl pusthus, and coats (*anga rakhi*). They are always buying and selling, and the Vaisyas are a happy lot at Guzrat."

The poet then says : Let us now describe the medicine men (*Vaidhyas*) : " They are the Guptas, Senas, Dasses, Duttas, Kurs, &c., who live in this (*Kulastan*; part of the town. Some become famous by adopting the mercurial treatment prescribed in the *Tantras*. They rise in the morning and place a *Tilak* mark high up on the forehead : they wrap a piece of cloth round the head, and, putting on a fine *dhuti* and taking the *pooti* (palm-leave book) under their arm, they stalk forth in the different wards of the town.

" When the disease is curable, the *Vaidhya*, beating his raised chest, proclaims a cure ; but if the disease is incurable, he contrives a retreat, and asks for leave on various pretences. Says he, " If I can make a decoction of camphor, I am sure to effect a cure." " Search for camphor," says the sick man with all eagerness ; and the medicine man on the pretence of procuring camphor, takes to his heels.

" *Agardanis* (a low class of Brahmins who officiate at funerals) live close to *Vaidhyas*, and they are in daily search for patients.

They pay no taxes, but it is their due to take the cow that is given away by the dying to secure a safe passage across the river *Bytarini* (the Indian Styx) and the *Til-dan* (sesamum gift) with gold pieces."

We have then an account of the settlement of the Kayesthas, on the south side of the town, by themselves, as perhaps representing the middle class. They made their demands thus: "The Goddess Vani (Saraswati) is bountiful to us all. We can all read and write. We are the ornaments of a town. We, Kayesthas, hearing of your glory, have come to you. Decide to give us the best lands and houses and make them rent-free. Do it without delay?"

Then comes an account of the lower classes, the great mass who occupy the east end of the town.

"There settle the Hakil Gopes, who do not know what deceit or anger is, and in whose fields all kinds of wealth grow. Each of them has his home well filled with pulses of sorts, linseed, mustard, wheat, cotton and molasses. There you find the oilmen who express the oil with the *ghani* (the oil-pressing machine) some of the class buy oil to sell it in the market. The blacksmith, with his smithy, makes spades, axes, arms, and bridles. With his betel and betel nuts settles the *Tambuli*. Here settle the potters who make earthen vessels and the earthen frames of *mridang* (drums) and *karras* (musical instruments).

"Hundreds and hundreds of pairs of *dhuties* are woven at one place by the weavers of Guzrat. The *Mali* grows flowers, makes garlands and toy-flower houses, and, with baskets full of flowers, he goes round the town selling his wares. *Baroees* are there, who grow betel in the betel nurseries, and if any one forcibly takes their things, the only resistance they offer is by crying *Do-hai*. The barbers are there, who go about with their leathern cases under their arms and looking-glass in hand. The confectioners manufacture sugar and confectioneries of sorts, and some of them go about the town with their stock of confectioneries for children. There settle the shroffs (*Jains*), who never kill animals, and who abstain from meat all the year round. Those who make silk filatures are encouraged to settle here by the grant of rent-free lands, and the Bir's heart rejoices when he sees the first red silk *sari* (*pat-sari*) being woven in his town.

"The Ganda Banias (গন্ধ বনিয়া) settle here. They go to the market with their baskets full of various kinds of spices and scents. The Sanga Banias (those who make *conch* shell bracelets) cut *conch* shells, and some of them turn them into beautiful forms. The braziers, on their anvils, make *jharis* (a kind of jug), cups and *thalis* (large plates), *lotas* (large cooking vessels), and *sips* (spoons), *dhabars* (large vessels for washing purposes),

pan-dans (betel-boxes with compartments for the various necessary spices), *ghantas* (ringing bells), *singashans* (thrones for idols) and *panch dip* (lamp stands). There are the goldsmiths who test gold and silver, and, if there be any suspicion, melt them in the fire. They sell and buy, and, in the process, they draw to themselves the wealth of the people. Then there are two kinds of Dasses : the one class catch fish, and other till the lands. There are Bowries, who are the musicians of the town. The Bagdies, accompanied by ten or twenty spearmen, go about the town with arms. The fishermen make nets and catch fish, and the Kuch leads here a merry life. There are a number of washermen who dry the clothes washed by them on ropes hung up on poles. There are the tailors who sew clothes by the job, or who engage as servants on salaries, and all these occupy one ward of the town. There are the Shiulis who tap the *khajoor* (date) trees and make molasses from date juice. There are carpenters in the market-place and people who fry and prepare parched rice; and there are painters. The *Patneys* (ferry-men) are there, who receive the Raj-dues for ferrying people over. The bards settle there, and beg from house to house."

Then comes an account of people living outside the town : The Kols, Korengs, Dhowaras, Dhajis, Malvas, and, amongst others, the Mahrattas, whose occupation, it is said, was to tap for the cure of diseased spleens, and to operate for cataract.

The first thing that strikes one in this description, is the segregation of the various classes of people in different quarters of the town. It is the same kind of segregation of Brahmins and other classes which still exists in southern India, but is no longer the characteristic feature of habitations in Bengal towns. But that it is not merely a poetical fancy of our poet is amply attested by the vestiges of it which we see in old villages, where we still find the Brahman-para, the Kayestha-para, the Gowala-para, the Mussalman-para, &c.

The poet, it will be observed, entertains a certain amount of concealed hatred for the Mussalmans and their ways, while he holds up to the admiration of his own people, their religious zeal, their unity amongst themselves, and the submission of their people to a government of their own.

He does not see why, while living side by side with the Hindus, they should not adopt the ways of the Hindus, or why they should stick to their ten-sided *topis* (caps) and *ijars* (the ten-sided *topi* was the prevailing Murshidabad fashion till a later day). Nay more, he does not see (as a Bengali) any reason for the Mussalman's scorn of a bare-headed man (বাকশি শের). This feeling of scorn, perhaps, still exists, but the overt act of throwing clods has been long since unknown. The poet hits at

the Mussalman fondness for grand names, and does not see why those who sell fish should be called *Kabaris*, or why those who make weavers' looms should call themselves *Sallakars*, and so on.

Though *nika* means the marriage contract, it has always been understood by the Bengalis to be an inferior kind of marriage amongst their Mussalman neighbours. Sometimes they understand by it the widow marriage of the Mahomedans, and the poet has his hit at this kind of marriage. "The Mollahs," he says, "for reading the *nika* get a sika (4-anna bit) and bless the pair by reading the *Kulma*."

"With a sharp knife the Mollahs butcher the fowl (মুরগি) and get 10 *gundas of cowries* (less than $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of a copper pice) for the job, &c." The butchering cannot be done without repeating the *Kulma* a stated number of times, and handling the knife in a certain way. This shows that the ordinary Mussalmans were ignorant of the necessary formula in those days, and the butchering could only be done by Mollahs, who used to get a certain fee for the job. The formula is now known to the Mussalman butchers as a class, and the Mollah's occupation is gone. Amongst the Jews in India there are only a few who, we are told, are initiated in the rites of sacrifices, and people have to live without meat for days together because a man, acquainted with the proper formula, is not to be found near at hand.

The poet's contemporary Mussalmans appear to have been all Shias, who contributed to the decoration of the Hosein's house, and raised the green flag and beat the drum. They appear, however, to have been a poor lot, for it was not the red carpet, but a red *patty* (mat) that they use as a *Jainemaj*.

"Accepting the *pan* (betel) of the Bir, the Mussalmans settled here." Agreements between parties were settled by giving a betel leaf as earnest money. As for the rest, the poet expresses his Hindu feeling of repugnance for people who wipe their hands on their clothes after meals.

The Bengalis appear to have been more priest-ridden than they are even now; but the poet, though a Brahmin, has no sympathy for priestcraft. The description of the unlettered Brahmins who officiate as priests is even now true to the letter; only the village priests do not now "swim in happiness" as they did of old, and, excepting at Gya, if they tie up the hands of their *Jusmans* in *Kusa* grass, to haggle for the *Dakshina*, the settling of the amount is no longer in their hands, but in the hands of those who pay the *Dakshina*.

The Ghatak Brahmins lived then as they do now, only they feed as parasites on the Brahmins themselves.

Amongst articles imported from distant lands, we find shawls, pusthus and *anga rakhis* (probably shawl or pusthu

coats). The Bhutea *chamors* (yak-tail fans), sandal-wood, *conch* shells and precious stones.

The undignified position of the medicine man (*Vaidhya*), who, clad in fine *dhuti*, with his head wrapped-up in a piece of cloth and his palm-leaf book under his arm, strolled over the town in search of patients, followed, at a near distance, by the *Agra-dani* (the pioneer on earth of death), is a contrast to the present proud position of the class and the caste to which they belong.

The demand of the Kayestha settlers for rent-free houses, on the ground that the Goddess Vani (Saraswati) is liberal to them all, and they can all read and write, is expressive of a notion even now extant in Zemindari management, that the caste, as a class, are troublesome tenants, who, when once settled on land, become the masters of their masters. The Kayesthas in Bengal appear then to have been called "Lallas," as the Kayesthas of Upper India are called to the present day. In one place the wife of a Kayestha is spoken of as a *Lalla* Thakurani.

"The Hakil Gopes, who know not deceit or anger, and in whose fields all wealth grows," present a pleasing contrast as rayats. The pleasing groups of happy classes of craftsmen, supplying the wants and luxuries of the people, is faithful as a picture of what existed even within the memory of the present generation. They made their own clothes, and the class which manufactured silk clothes (*pat-saries*) were much encouraged.

Of domestic utensils, we have a long list, all made of brass, as at present. The *jharis* (jugs), *kotra* (cups), *thalis* (large plates), *lotas*, *handis* (large cooking pots), *sips* (a kind of spoon for pouring water as libations to gods), *dhabars* (vessels for washing purposes), *pan-dans* (betel-boxes with compartments for the various accessories), the *ghanta* (bells), *singashans* (thrones for idols), and *panch pradip* (in which with oil, in a common receptacle, standing on a metal stick, five lamps burn on five sides), appear to have been almost identical with utensils ordinarily used even now, but of a ruder kind.

The goldsmiths, who made, as we find elsewhere from the poet's descriptions, only the following kinds of ornaments, *viz* :—*tarballa* (a kind of bracelet which seems to have been ordinarily of silver), *kankan* (a bracelet surmounted with small knobs), a gold piece for the ear, a gold necklace of beads of 5 or 7 strings, and the sounding anklet (नग्नुर), also of silver, *pansali* (पँसली) (a kind of flattened silver rings) for the ten fingers of the hands, ornaments in variety much less, and in quality ruder than those now in use—were as dishonest a set as their descendants are at the present day. Our poet says :—"They sell and they buy, and, in the process, suck the substance of the people."

The process of making silver and gold wire appears to have been known only to the goldsmiths of Gour.

The *conch* shell bracelet (সাঁতা) was generally worn. When worn, it indicated (as it still indicates), that the wearer was not a widow. They were worn by both unmarried and married females, but the distinctive badge of married life was an iron round piece worn on the hand.

The *pat-sari* was the richest dress for women. It was a red silk *sari*, sometimes decorated with a coloured apron. The *kanchali* (a kind of short jacket without sleeves, and made of chequered cloth) formed also a part of the dress.

The carpenter's trade does not appear to have been very flourishing. The domestic furniture which he made for rich people appears to have been a sleeping cot (খাট), and wooden stools to sit upon at meals (পাঁড়), but his services, along with those of the blacksmith, must have been called into requisition in making *dollas* (sedan chairs for rich people), *sakats* (bullock carts let on hire at a rupee-a-day by Banias), *ghanies* (oil-pressing machines), *dhenkies* (husking machines) and boats.

The Bengalis appear to have been a meat-eating people before Chaitanya effected amongst them his social and religious reforms. The poet speaks of the hunter and hunter's wife as often as he speaks of the fisherman and of his wife. The hunter kills wild animals in the forest and jungles, and his wife sells the meat in the bazar, or goes with her vessel of meat, from house to house, Brahmins' houses not excepted. They are represented as a low class of people, indeed, but are not considered unclean.

When Durbela, Dhanapati's maid-servant, goes a marketing, to arrange for a big feast at her master's house, she purchases hares and goats in numbers, and the meat is cooked for food. Khuluna, in her first interview with Dhanapati before the marriage, when she takes away his pigeon, says she cannot allow him to have it, as she does not like it to be killed, and he must make shift to do one day without his pigeon soup.

The shroffs (probably Jains) are distinguished from other people as 'a people who never kill animals and who live without meat all the year round.'

It is a relief to find that in this detailed description of the various classes of people composing the community, in which we even find the courtezans settled in a special part of the town, the *Saunri* (সাঁড়), or wine-seller, finds no place, and though we have hits at several vices which afflicted the people, not a single reference is to be found to the vice of intemperance. Even our poet's Bowrie and Bagdie classes, now almost always found

drunk, are not spoken of as given to drink. The *Tantras*, which appear to have been the fashionable religious code, not having brought about drunkenness then, cannot be held responsible for the prevailing drunkenness now.

It is interesting to note that the Mahrattas, before the rise of Sevaji, and before the time when they used to come to Bengal on their marauding expedition, were not altogether unknown to the Bengalis. In the time of our poet they used to come and live outside the towns, like Kuches and Malays, doctoring to diseased spleens and affected eyes.

BHAROO DATTA'S GOING TO THE AUDIENCE OF THE KING OF KALINGA.

"Bharoo revolves in his mind how best he can do mischief, and resolves to seek an audience of the King of Kalinga. Clad in his wife's *sari*, Bharoo wrapped round his head the *pug* (*pugri* of the present day), which, however, did not cover all his hair. With due deliberation he took in his hand the book of Kaifieth, and, pronouncing the name of Hari, put the reed pen behind his ear. But who was to carry his presents to the King? The question did not puzzle Bharoo long.

"Bharoo had a younger brother, by name Shiva. Though twenty-five years of age, he was not yet married, the fact being that he had elephantiasis in both of his legs. Says Bharoo to his brother: 'Be cheerful, my boy, when the *mandali* (assembly) next comes, I will arrange for your marriage,' and thus he easily coaxed him to act the beast of burden."

Thus the bare-headed Bengali, whom the Mussalman does not accost when he meets him in the street and whom he abuses as "*Langa sir*," had to put something on his head (called here a *pug*) when he appeared before the authorities, or when he wished to assume a dignified appearance. The medicine man, as we have seen, puts a piece of cloth round his head. For the rest, the *dhuti* appears ordinarily not to have reached down to the ankles, but public appearances required that one should have a long one, with a flowing tuck. Whether the *dhuti* and the *pug* alone sufficed for such occasion, and the body was allowed to remain uncovered, does not appear; but we have elsewhere accounts of *anga rakhis* (coats), and the Bir's new settlement included a colony of tailors.

Bharoo Datta probably went barefooted, but the richer classes are elsewhere described as wearing shoes (*paduka*).

Marriageable age.—Bharoo's brother, Shiva, was considered past marriageable age, because he was as old as twenty-five. Srimanta, the boy hero in the second story, marries two wives when he is only twelve years of age. He, however, is represented as mastering all the branches of Sanscrit learning

at that age, and as having undertaken a sea-voyage in search of his father. It was, however, not because he was rich, or unusually precocious, that he performed this extraordinary feat in the marriage line also. It would appear rather that one of the reasons which made the poet overlook the other consistencies was, that he could not, according to prevalent notions, keep him unmarried much beyond twelve years of age. Kalkathu, the poor hunter hero in the first story, also marries at that age.

For girls the marriageable age was much below twelve, and when the poet, to suit a story of 'Love at first sight,' has to keep Khuluna in the second story unmarried till her twelfth year, her father is soundly rated by Danai Ojha, the Brahmin match-maker, for keeping his daughter so long unmarried.

"Be cheerful, my boy, when the *mandali* (assembly) next comes, I will arrange for your marriage," says Bharoo to his brother. Such assemblages to discuss and settle marriages appear to have been then held in Bengal, as they are even now held amongst the Sawti (Srutri) Brahmins of Durbhanga.

Polygamy.—We said that the poet represents his boy hero, Srimanta Soudagur, as marrying two wives when he was only twelve years of age. His father, Dhanapati, has two wives. Raja Vicram Kesuri, of Ujaini, to whose court Dhanapati is attached as a merchant functionary, has also more than one wife. The sixteen years old beautiful damsel, in which form Chandi appears in the house of Kalkathu, when pressed for a reason for coming away from her home, says she did so because she could not tolerate her husband's devotion and fondness for her co-wife (Chandi perhaps meant Ganga), Lillabati, the friend of Lohana, to whom Lohana applies for medicine to be administered to the husband, after his second marriage, to bring him back to her allegiance, is one of seven wives of a Kulin Brahmin, whose affections she had succeeded in securing to herself, through, as she discloses to Lohana, the virtue of medicinal charms. Polygamy thus appears to have been generally prevalent, not only amongst Kulin Brahmins, but amongst other classes as well. The poet, however, takes every opportunity of exhibiting the evils thereof, and describes the constant warfare that was going on in the house of Dhanapati between the two wives—Lohana's jealousy and Khuluna's assertion of her rights,—which often led to pitched battles. One of the scenes is graphically described, when Lohana produced a forged letter of her husband during his absence from home, enjoining on her, because of the alleged inauspiciousness of the second marriage, to degrade Khuluna from her position as wife to that of a menial for tending goats. Khuluna, on reading the letter, declared it to be a forgery, as it was not in her husband's handwriting; thereon from words the two came to blows, until Khuluna had the

worst of the fray, and was bound fast hand and foot, and released only on condition that she would tend the goats. Dhanapati's experiences as a polygamous husband are also depicted, in more than one place, as not at all enviable.

Females could read and write.—Khuluna, then only a girl about 12 or 13 years of age, reads the letter which Lohana hands over to her, and at once pronounces it to be a forgery, the handwriting not being that of her husband. The forgery itself was done by Lillabati, the Brahmin friend of Lohana, and Lalla Thakurani makes out the list of the he and she goats that were made over by Lohana to Khuluna's keeping.

In the second story the poet describes two voyages from Burdwan to Ceylon. His geography is precise from Burdwan to the sea; but further on, the descriptions are drawn from imagination. There is, however, a general correctness in the outlines of the poet's description of the east coast of India, sufficiently indicative of the fact that, at some date antecedent to his time, native crafts from Bengal, with merchandize, used to visit Ceylon, and that some traditionary accounts of places on the coast were extant in his day. Perhaps, too, vague reports of places on the coast had reached the poet from sources other than native.

We have, at the point where the Ganges falls into the sea, "the *Feringi Desh* (the country of the Feringis), where they ply their boats night and day for fear of the *Harams* (a term of abuse, referring to the *Feringis*) and pass it in twenty days." It is just possible that by the *Feringi Desh* are indicated the piratical regions where the Portuguese and Arakanese seized and plundered vessels. Again, on the return journey, after Rameshwar Satu Band, they came again to the *Feringi Desh*, which here, perhaps, indicates Madras and its vicinity—the country of Dravira and Utkal (Orissa), where they visit Jagannath Puri.

From Burdwan to the sea, the poet appears to be on surer ground, and the places passed and touched are as follows:—

"Floating down the river Ajai, the boats came to Indrani. Further down they passed Bhrigu Sinha's Ghât on the right and Materi Ghât on the left. Then they passed Chandi Gach; Balanpur Ghât; Puravastali; Navadip; Parpur; Mirzapur; Ambua on the right side, Santipur on the left, Gupte para on the right; Oola Kismar Fula, Joshepur Kodai Ghât, Halishahar on the left side, and Tribeni on the right; Saptagram, Garefa, Andalpara, Jagathal, Nowpara, Teliapur, Nunai Ghât, Mahesh on the right side, and Kurdaha, Konnagar, Kotrung, Kuchinan, Chitpur, Sulkhia, Kalikata (Calcutta) Bithoor. Leaving, on the right, the way to Hijuji (Hijli), they turned to the left, passed Balughata, Kali Ghât, Mirnagar,

Nachangacha, Vaisnav Ghata, Barasat, Chatra Bhuj, Ambri Bhuj, Hithagar, and then come to Mogara.

There are some points in the geography which deserve notice :—

1st.—That the Tribeni Ghât, where the bathing took place, was just opposite to Halishahar ;

2nd.—That the Ganges flowed past Saptagram, and this Saptagram was an important mart.

Referring to Saptagram the poet says : “ The merchants of Kalinga, Troilinga, Anga, Banga, Karnoul, Mahendra Satava, Maharastra, Guzrat, Barindra, Vindapingal, Utkal, Dravir, Raht, Bijohnagar, Mathura, Dwarka, Kashi, Kankhol, Kakawn, Puramull, Manmull, Godavary, Gya, Srihatta, Kowurkaj, Hargar, Trihatta, Manika, Funika, Langa, Balumbu, Bagan Maladis, Kurakshetra, Biteshwari, Ahisanka, Siva Chatta, Mahanatta, Hastina, and many other countries which I cannot name, come to Saptagram with merchandize ; but the Saptagram merchants never go out of their town. They command the wealth of the world, as also such comforts at home as are procurable only in Paradise. Their place is a holy seat of pilgrimage, incomparable in sanctity. It is called Saptagram, because it is under the rule of its seven patron Rishis.”

3rd.—That while in the above text, we get Halisahar, Gourya, Mahesh, Khurdaha, Konnagar, Chitpur, Saleekha, we do not find Hughli, Chandarnagar, Serampur, Bali, or Barrackpur.

4th.—That Calcutta (with respect to the origin of the name of which there has always been so much controversy) was then in existence ; that it was an important place between Chitpur and Kalighât, and, though not requiring any special notice of the kind which the poet gives to places like Navadip, Tribeni and Saptagram, yet was of sufficient importance as a village on the route down the Ganges to deserve mention. Calcutta, therefore, is at least three hundred years old, and was in existence before the Company of English merchants had set foot in Bengal, and it is as vain to seek for the origin of its name, as for that of Saleekha, Chitpur, Khurdaha and other names of places in the above list ; yet such vain speculations appear to have been at least as ancient in India as the age of our poet, for he himself has his speculation with regard to the name of Saptagram, which he derives from Sapta Rishis, perhaps believed to be seven patron saints of the city, then the richest in Bengal.

5th.—That there were two streams of the Ganges near Calcutta, one going down to Hijuji (perhaps Hijli) and the other, now called Adiganga, flowing past Kalighât ; and that the latter branch was usually used by sea-going vessels.

There is one thing noteworthy in connection with the account

of the voyages. The boatmen are from East Bengal, and, perhaps, from Chittagong, the predecessors of the Lascars of the present time. Our poet introduces them as *Bangals* who pronounce *s* as *h*. The tendency of West Bengal men to poke fun at their brethren of East Bengal for their uncouth pronunciation, therefore, appears to be inherited.

How the people amused themselves.—We are afraid they did so with gambling and betting, a vice to which the people were much addicted. To whatever other faults they may have to plead guilty, this certainly is not one of their vices now ; so the last three hundred years have produced a salutary change in this respect.

When Dhanapati reports what he had seen at Kalidaha, the Raja of Ceylon says that if he can verify his statement by showing him (the Raja) the *Kamala-Kamini*, he will give him half his kingdom ; else he will take as a forfeit all he has and cast him into prison for life. The betting compact is reduced to writing, and Dhanapati is plundered and imprisoned by way of forfeit.

The same thing happens when Srimanta, in his turn, states what he has seen. The Raja of Ceylon, in this case, bets half his kingdom and agrees to marry his daughter to Srimanta if he can verify his statement ; and Srimanta bets his all, as also his life, if he fails to do so. This, again, is reduced to writing and signed by both parties, and Srimanta loses, and it is only when, in pursuance of this betting agreement, he is about to be beheaded, that the Goddess Chandi interposes.

The same story is repeated, when Srimanta, notwithstanding his previous experience, narrates what he saw to Vicram Kesari, the Raja of Ujaini, on his return to Bengal.

Gambling with dice was a somewhat universal vice. The boy, Srimanta, gambles with other boys with dice before he goes to school. When Dhanapati comes home after his first absence, Lohana, to prove that under her care the life of Khuluna was very easy, tells her husband, that, while she (Lohana) looked to the management of the household, Khuluna, the girl-wife, had been all day gambling with dice with her companions. Dhanapati gambles with dice with his girl-wife. He is also found playing with dice in the Patsala when a certain event happens at home. Furthermore when he goes to Gour and is found to be a very agreeable companion by the Raja of the place, the two gamble with dice night and day, with occasional intermissions for the most necessary purposes, and Dhanapati forgets home and wives in the midst of this excitement.

The lords of men (नरपति) of our poet are very small men perhaps in position intended to represent the master of a

pergunnah, or so. Judging the class by what we know of their successors not long ago, we can well suppose that, while they entrusted the care of their estate to a Dewan (*Mantri*), the class were addicted to the idle habit of spending nights and days in playing with dice.

Another amusement of the people was keeping pigeons, pigeon-flying, and a kind of betting in connection therewith. This was one of Akbar's amusements (*Ayin Akbari*, pp. 298-302).

Dhanapati has his first interview with Khuluna before marriage—an interview at which he is at once smitten—when he is engaged with his companions in this kind of amusement and has been running through jungles and brakes in pursuit of his pigeon.

The amusement was something after this sort: Each man had a pair of pigeons, one male and the other female. The male pigeon was released, while the female was held in the hand; and he whose pigeon, soaring aloft, came down and perched on the hand of the owner out of fondness for its mate, was regarded as the winner.

There is also a full list of juvenile games, which, with Tic-gooli, blindman's buff, baughchal and dice, included swimming, climbing trees, mock fights, &c.

If the Bengalis are to be congratulated on having got rid of the vice of gambling and betting, there has not since then been any general substitution of other and rational amusements in their place, and, judging from what we see, there is something in the observation that the Bengalis are growing a sombre and gloomy people. There is no "go," no life, and no combination of work and play.

Character of the people.—It is interesting to note that the people are described as very truthful. The *Kamala-Kamini* appears only to Dhanapati in the first voyage, and to his son, Srimanta, in the second; and, though they point out what they see to their companions, and the crew of the boats, they see nothing. When, therefore, on going to the Kalidaha with the King of Ceylon, Dhanapati and Srimanta fail to show him what they had seen, the evidence of these others is taken, and none of them, even to save himself, his master, or his all, which was to go as a forfeit, would tell a lie.

Lillabati's committing a forgery, on being instigated thereto by Lohana, is an incident introduced as a thread to the story. It is incorporated in the story to show the evils of polygamy and is held up for deserved condemnation.

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

ART. XI.—RANJIT SINGH: "THE LION OF THE NORTH."

- 1.—*History of the Panjab*, by Sayad Muhammad Latif, 1891.
- 2.—*History of the Sikhs*, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, 1849.
- 3.—*Military Memoirs of Col. James Skinner*, by J. B. Fraser, 1851.

THE strange mixture of devilry and devotion in which soldiers of fortune have in all ages found a common and convenient source of inspiration, appeals with greater force to the educated European imagination from the rough doings of an Eastern adventurer, than from the weird heroism of the more familiar crusader. The glamour which superstition or partisanship has thrown over crimes committed under emblazoned banners, seems to be withdrawn, for the Western observer at any rate, from the outrages of Eastern freebooters, big and small, whose record is judged directly according to obvious motive and visible results, irrespectively of infection from religious or political cant. It is well that it is so, since no real good can accrue to either society or civilization, to either men or culture, from any extension to such characters as those which move over the face of all the larger Asiatic dramas, of the absolution which sentiment has pronounced over the marauders of medieval European history. To struggle, and if necessary to die, for personal fame, under the pretext of rescuing palaces or tombs held sacred by particular races, from the grasp of others, only ceases to be a degrading pursuit, when the pretext is not a transparent untruth, or, being a truth, involves no criminal waste of treasure or blood, and secures some commensurate gain to individual character or general human happiness; and no illusion that this kind of fanaticism is pleasing to any fetish that has been invested with any attribute of divinity can divest it of its essential immorality.

From one point of view, Ranjit Singh was a bold and successful crusader, with variations in his methods and purposes, challenging comparison indeed with antetypes of other climes and times, but withal as thoroughpaced a crusader as ever warred against the crescent, or saw triumph crowning the efforts of a busy and bloody life. From another, he was a successful warrior, guilty of nearly every crime which can stain the conscience of a man, and rather more successful, on the whole, than most of his predecessors or rivals on an unenviable roll whose inner thoughts and outer deeds, with the language that was used to disguise them both, have been

brought within the reach of modern analytic criticism by modern research.

Environment and heredity would necessarily leave their marks on such a career, and they would begin their influence on it at a period long anterior to its own day of intelligent willing and of conscious effort. The Indian Continent found itself, in the eighteenth century, an ocean over whose surface ripples played from every quarter of the compass. The Moghal Empire stood rooted in Delhi during its earlier years, rich in its traditions of conquest and plunder, but offering alike to foreign invader and domestic foe, the identical temptation which oriental despotisms, depending mainly on individual sovereigns, have always presented to avarice or jealousy. Between the line of the Indus, over which the Persian Nadir Shah and the Durani Ahmad Abdali had come, in turn, in 1738 and 1748, and the imperial capital, there stretched away the whole breadth of the Panjab, with its masses of intense and vigorous populations, among whose various ingredients of Jât, Khatri, Bhatti and aboriginal hillmen, the Sikh element was gradually gaining solidarity and domination, awaiting the hour and the man to charm it into a consistent and powerful nation.

The more or less philosophical propaganda of Nanak in 1486 had been not only warmed into quicker and keener life, but also made to beat with a fuller pulse, in which Sikh patriotism was being schooled to make the best of both worlds, under the later revelations of Govind. The religion of Nanak, as pure a theism, perhaps, as the human mind has ever evolved anywhere under Eastern skies, did not suffice for all the secular problems of the earth, earthy, to which love of country and hatred of foreign dominance had been calling the manhood, and even the womanhood, of the Khalsa. And when, after two hundred years of contemplative repose, the Khalsa consciousness awoke to the incantation of Govind, it was to find that the sword made no worse a defence for faith than religious abstractions, and cut through tangible enemies a good deal faster.

This is precisely the same lesson, in another form, that corrupt forms of Christianity have learned from even more pretentious endeavours to effect futile compromises between the seen and the unseen; but two centuries ago the uncultivated strugglers of the Panjab were unaware of the softer cults under which the cynical immorality of later and more vulgar hypocrisies could be concealed. The prophet of the Khalsa, finding the revelations of the Granth insufficient for a tangled skein of material relations, with fastenings in interminable social as well as political complications, all forming a knot that could neither be opened nor cut, forthwith invoked a new

inspiration to his aid, and added a new volume to the sacred scriptures of his day. The life of Nanak is almost touching in its simplicity and earnestness, as that of Govind is interesting for the sacrifices of sincerity which it made to present and pressing danger. This peril demanded more resistance—a sort of anticipation of the later device known as muscular Christianity—than Nanak's not unlovely conceptions afforded ; and the change of mental attitude, progressing under external pressure rather than from internal impulse, from the repose taught by Nanak to the vigour inculcated by Govind, forms a chapter of spiritual evolution, or rather resolution, the first really worthy analysis of which, from the standpoint of the intelligent and not unsympathetic modern observer, has yet to be written.

It was from the moral atmosphere of this religious experiment, which is practically a sealed book to most European readers of history and students of philosophy, that the political ferment, begotten all over the Panjab by the clash of contending arms, took its colouring by absorption. It is not improbable that the intervening Gurus between Nanak and Govind, and in particular Arjun, left some impression alike on the faith delivered to their fathers, and on the political currents that got mixed up with it, on its way down to their sons ; but for most foreign observers, and especially for the historical student of this day, it is enough to know that an incongruous religious belief, combining some features of the Hebrew Nazarite with unbridled intoxication, and tempered with abstinence from tobacco, grew from an ideal faith into a very real fight, by which independence was achieved, for a whole generation, by one of the manliest Indian races—a race unhappily deeply tainted with sensuality and strangely treacherous in some of its dealings with its foes, but loyal beyond Asiatic example to its trusted friends, and bringing down from remote antiquity a faint flavour of a Macedonian inheritance (which the Alexandrian invasion is suspected of having infused into its life-blood, in its Bactrian epoch) into the heart of a meat-eating, liquor-drinking, brave and reckless modern Hindu people.

This is the people whose history weaves itself, as the tassar worm makes its own cocoon, round the lives of Charat Singh, Maha Singh, and Ranjit, and especially of the last.

When the religious philosophy of Nanak struck upon the lives of the Panjab races, it broke up into splinters of creeds, whose shadowy differences present absolutely no moral equivalent worth extracting or formulating. But of the 12 Misl, as they were styled, which subdivided the whole constituency of the Khalsa, two claim and are entitled to distinct recognition, as entering largely into the structure of the new nation which grew up in the Panjab. These were the Kanhya and the

Sukarchakya Misl, to the latter of which Ranjit Singh belonged, while the former produced a woman, Sada Kaur, whose personal and political influence, freely exerted on behalf of Ranjit, actually embedded itself in his destiny and fertilized it.

In what is now seen to have been the dawn of the history of the Sikhs as a nation, the Sikh clans filling up the large intervals of the Panjab, not held by Mahomedan races, began to move uneasily under impulses directly imparted, doubtless, by the unrest of ambitious individual leaders, but indirectly provoked by the ferment caused by the visits and withdrawal of Durani armies. Such a conjunction took place in 1762 and again in 1770, when the Afghan army of Ahmad Shah was followed and harassed by a body of stragglers under Charat Singh, the grandfather of Ranjit, who gave the foreign invaders a succession of those victories that are accounted worse than defeats. It is certain that any single pronounced disaster would have forced the Abdali army back on the Indus, in infinitely better plight than that in which it found itself at the close of its tedious successes, with the remnants of its original bands dispirited and reduced, leaving Charat Singh a brighter prospect than that with which he had started on his Fabian defence.

The death of Charat Singh in 1774, caused by the bursting of a matchlock in the hands of one of his soldiers, brought to the leadership of the Sukarchakya Misl his son, Maha Singh, then a lad of only ten years of age, who inherited, with his chieftainship, a fortune—no inconsiderable one in those days—of three lakhs of rupees a year, drawn in the way of territorial revenue. Charat's widow, Desan, assisted by Jay Ram Missar, who combined in his person the obligations of family priest and paramour, formed a regency during the first few years of the succession of Maha Singh, who, however, in 1778, took the field in person, and by a decisive victory over the Jât chief, Pir Muhamad at Ramnagar,* at once established a reputation as a warrior of equal boldness and skill. Between his accession and this victory, Maha Singh married the daughter of the Jhind family, better known afterwards as the Mai Malwain, who, on the 2nd November 1780, presented him with the son afterwards known to fame as Ranjit.

It is one of the startling coincidences of Sikh story, that Maha Singh avenged the dishonor of his father by destroying his mother, Desan, in 1778, with both her lovers Jay Ram and Hakikat Singh : and that a similar fate overtook his own wife, the Mai Malwain, at the hand of his own son Ranjit, in 1794. Maha Singh, who was always of very intem-

* The name was changed from Rasulpur to Ramnagar after this victory ; from the "town of the Prophet" to the "city of Ram."

perate habits, drank more heavily than before after the murder of his mother, and is said to have died in *delirium tremens*, while the army, which he was at the time leading, invested a Mahomedan fortress at Sodra in 1792. The European reader will con with a grave smile the verdict of the Mahomedan historian on the character which thus closed : "His military genius, undaunted courage, stern temper and rigid observance of the rules of delicacy and honour, at times involved him in serious trouble, but he honourably acquitted himself on all such occasions."

It is not a mere coincidence that the history of the Sikh nation is the story of its sovereigns. Before the modern conspiracy between civilization and democracy began, which, without advancing either individual freedom or general happiness, has remitted sovereigns to the position of ornamental figure-heads, or of mere ultimate expressions of the reign of law, rulers arose among both emancipated and enslaved populations, the records of whose career became public history, without making it. It was different with the rulers of the Panjab. They made history, because they made the nation whose construction was the development of their own plans, and whose public records formed the story of their own deeds.

This was especially the case with Ranjit Singh, who, in the year 1792, at the early age of twelve, succeeded his father in the leadership of the Sukarchakya clan. There were only two clans at this time in the Panjab which could advance any claim to race hegemony. These were the Misl of Maha Singh, just named, and the Kanhya : for the Bhangi, which had cut so prominent a figure for a few years, had almost collapsed when Ranjit succeeded his father. Gurbaksh Singh was now reposing in his grave, but in his widow, Sada Kaur, there survived a spirit of unusually keen political insight, resting on a broad foundation of personal intrepidity such as women have, from time to time, displayed in all ages and in all countries, when men have given them the chance. That was a glance of special wisdom and foresight which showed Sada Kaur, as she dreamed out her future from the midst of many present nightmares, that it was not given to the Kanhya Misl, good as its record of hard knocks and increasing influence had undoubtedly been, to take the lead among the Khalsa clans ; for the temptation to do so, or at least attempt it, with the backing from the distant Durani empire and the nearer Jâts, neither of which would have been refused, must have been great to such a mind as hers. It was resisted ; and Sada Kaur saw in the same glance that showed her this, the future that could be opened up by a good alliance with the heir of Maha Singh.

Her daughter, Mahtab, was offered to, and accepted for, the still youthful Ranjit ; and this marriage, which at once gave her considerable influence among the Kanhyas, gave her a position of undisputed supremacy among them on the removal by death of her husband's father Jay Singh in the year 1793. It was something more than a spirit of either friendly rivalry or even gratitude that established the close concert which now sprang up between Ranjit's mother and this venturesome daughter of the Kanhya. The Mai Malwain recognized the intrepidity and sagacity which made Sada Kaur so valuable an ally to Ranjit in the most critical days of his widening horizon, and all the friendship that was not claimed by her own paramours was laid at the feet of this woman who was to prove of such signal service to her son. But the Mai Malwain was not destined to share any of the glory to which she thus sacrificed, for Ranjit Singh signalized the beginning of his public career by putting his mother and her two lovers, Laik Missar and Lakhpatt Rai, to death, under an impulse which could only have represented some wild animal instinct, since it is difficult to trace in it any resemblance to indignant justice.

A people's misfortunes are often, perhaps usually, their truest opportunities ; and the concurrence of one of Shah Zaman's many recurring dreams of founding a vast Indian empire, with Ranjit Singh's assumption of the Sukarchakya leadership, bolstered up as it was with the influence of Sada Kaur and the help of the Kanhya troops, sounded the first note of Ranjit's advance in fortune. A secret understanding with its chief Mahomedan residents, who were outraged by the alternate dissoluteness and rapacity of its Ramgarhya rulers, gained an entrance for Ranjit into Lahore, which he fastened on and retained. Sayad Muhammad Latif thus correctly gathers up and describes the conflicting elements of the general Sikh polity, which, in a less firm hand, might have proved so many stinging nettles, but which in his strong grasp contributed to establish his power :

"Firmly established in Lahore, Ranjit Singh occupied himself in consolidating his dominions and making arrangements to secure his authority. The success which had hitherto attended his arms, and now the capture and possession of the capital of the Panjab, rendered him an object of envy, hatred and uncharitableness among his contemporary chiefs. In order to wrest Lahore from him, a powerful coalition was formed between Jassa Singh, *Ramgarhya*"—from whose uncle's immediate tutelary possession it had been wrested—"Golab Singh, *Bhangi*, of Amritsar"—the possession of which had carried with it a share in the custodianship of the future capital—"Sahib Singh, *Bhangi*, of Gujrat, Jodh Singh of Wazirabad and Nizam-ud-din Khan of Kasur. The confederate forces, several

thousands strong, left Amritsar for Lahore in the early part of A.D. 1800, under the command of their respective chiefs. Jassa Singh, Ramgarhya, owing to infirmity and old age, was unable to join the expedition personally, but he sent his sons to conduct affairs on his behalf. Ranjit Singh went out to meet them, taking with him as large a force as he could collect from Lahore, as well as the contingent furnished by his active mother-in-law Sada Kaur. The troops of both parties lay encamped opposite each other in Mauza Bhasin, ten *kos* east of Lahore, for a period of two months; and various fruitless skirmishes took place without either party gaining the advantage. These procrastinations led the Bhangi sardars to forget the object which had prompted them to take joint action against the common foe. The greater portion of both night and day was spent in carousing and rioting to the entire prejudice of their armies and their cause. This hard drinking proved fatal to Golab Singh, Bhangi, who died suddenly one night in a fit of *delirium tremens*. The death of this sardar spread consternation throughout the camp of the Bhangi, and, it being felt that the Sukarchakya chief was inflexible and well-prepared to keep the field, the army of the confederate sardars broke up, and Lahore was ever after left in the undisturbed possession of Ranjit Singh."—pp. 351-352.

The unconscious irony of the last few sentences is inimitable, and happily does not interfere with the historical accuracy and critical value of the context, which is confirmed in the main incidents recorded in it both by Murray's *Ranjit Singh*, and by Cunningham's brief record of Ranjit Singh; though it is worthy of note that Cunningham represents the tottering steps by which Shah Zaman retreated from the Panjab, and gathered up the skirts of the Abdali Indian Empire behind him, as reaching almost into 1803, possibly 1805, and thus overlapping the slow movements making up Ranjit's capture of the city of Lahore, instead of preceding it, as the Mahomedan chronicler's account would lead us to suppose:—

"Ranjit Singh made Lahore his capital, and, with the aid of the Kanhya confederacy, he easily reduced the whole of the Bhangis to submission, although they were aided by Nizam-ud-din Khan of Kasur. . . . After this success, Ranjit Singh went to bathe in the holy pool of Tarran Taran, and, meeting with Fattah Singh, Alhuwalhya, he conceived a friendship for him, and went through the formal exchange of turbans. During 1801, the allies took Amritsar from the widow of the last Bhangi leader of note, and of their joint spoil it fell to the share of the master of the other capital of the Sikh country. . . . In little more than a year after Shah Zaman quitted the Panjab, he was deposed and blinded by his brother Moha-

mad, who was in his turn supplanted by a third brother, Shah Suja, in the year 1803. These revolutions hastened the fall of the entire empire of Ahmad Shah, and Ranjit Singh was not slow to try his arms against the weakened Durani governors of districts and provinces. In 1804-5 he marched to the westward and received homage and presents from the Mahomedans of Jhang and Sahiwal."—*Cunningham*, pages 139, 140.

The slight conflict of testimony in regard to the order of the surrounding circumstances which form the background of the capture of Lahore, is of political interest rather than of historical importance ; but it is not useless to detect the political interest of it, since it leaves in uncertainty the details of a drama immediately preceding, and not wholly irrelevant to, the first contact of Ranjit Singh with the British power rising on the South-eastern horizon, and already knocking at the gates of Delhi. Four years later, as we learn from neither *Cunningham* nor Sayad Muhammad Latif, but from a casual disclosure in the *Memoirs of Colonel Skinner* (page 86, Vol. II.), Holkar, whose aims in the Panjab were undisguisedly hostile to those of the British, marched into the Panjab from Rajputana, where he largely recruited his forces, "in the hopes of securing assistance from the Sikhs, who, it was said, particularly Ranjit Singh, had actually made some promise to that effect." The promise might be as false as other promises of the Sikh sovereign, but so far as it was made at all, it was anti-British, about the same time,—though the exact date is not fixed,—when Ranjit Singh, while openly jealous of British influence, was engaged in efforts to propitiate it, and was not in acknowledged league with the Indor Darbar.

It was early in 1800 that Ranjit Singh made himself master of Lahore. It was late in the same year—after he had marched against Jainmu and humbled its Rajah by exacting Rs. 20,000 from him as the price of leaving his capital untouched, and after his indomitable mother-in-law had, in his interest, routed the Ramgarhyas under Jodh Singh—that Ranjit Singh received a formal visit from Yusaf Ali Khan, the British Agent, who had come with a present of Rs. 1,000, and been dismissed with a khillat. It was not until the year 1801 that Ranjit formally assumed the title of Maharaja, and claimed charge of the *Sarkar* of the Panjab ; and it would prove of something more than merely literary interest to decipher,—if that were practicable—from the hieroglyphics which the rival influences of the three great powers, now struggling for the mastery of the North, at this period carved upon its history, whether the subsidence of Durani domination in the Panjab preceded, followed, or was simultaneous with Ranjit's capture of Lahore, nearly synchronous as that was with his first friendly contact with the British

power ; and how far the decline of Mahomedan dominion may have been owing to a recrudescence of indigenous forces, Hindu or Sikh, and how far to the power of Britain.

The sudden collapse of uncivilized powers under pressure of civilized foreign armies, has often formed a subject of study among thoughtful historians, and need only be briefly hinted at in this place. The strength of the Durani influence in the Panjab, continually weakened as it had been by internecine strife, and was destined further to be by the successful resistance of Ranjit, lay, during its last years of decay, as much in the surviving loyal affinities of Mahomedan chiefs scattered over the Panjab, as in its own direct manifestations. Ranjit was keen-eyed enough to see the value of this powerful prestige, and gradually, by cajolery or force, detached the distant abstraction from its chief local sources of strength. When, in 1805, Ranjit finally succeeded in forming treaties with the more influential Mahomedan families and chiefs about the Jhelam and the Chinab, it became suddenly true, as the Sayad expresses the change, that "the court of Kabul was no longer regarded as the royal and highest tribunal of India. The chiefs of the Panjab looked upon the Maharaja Ranjit Singh as the greatest and most powerful chief of India ; to him they did homage : to him they looked for advancement, and around his standard they rallied in cases of national danger or of any greater emergency."

Two different elements mingled, like two distinct streams, in the character of Ranjit Singh. They were both the offspring of the rather low type of patriotism which fired his breast, and which consisted in the exaltation of his country and his race, so far as the double business harmonized with the exaltation of himself : but one was talent shown in opposing foreign or domestic foes ; the other was talent in conserving or constructing domestic institutions of any recognizable promise. It is conceivable that if the distractions of war had not engrossed so much of his energy and time, the problem of municipal reconstruction which opened up before him, in the harmonizing of conflicting domestic interests, might have placed his character in another light than that in which it now appears to the world. If the striking of a coin to celebrate his assumption of the title of Maharaja, and the inspiration which prompted him to appeal to both the religious instinct and the patriotism of his subjects by inscribing the words "Hospitality, the sword, victory, and unfailing conquest from Nanak to Guru Govind Singh" on the coin, be accounted a mere flash, which only played over the popular imagination without sinking into the public mind, there was real genius in the internal administrative reforms by which law-officers were appointed with revised jurisdictions, and an ancient form of municipal and fouzdari administration was revived,

developed, and dovetailed into the general social system. But war was in the air in those days, and the clash of arms and the din of battlefields left little leisure for the consummation of peaceful administrative reform.

The wresting of Akalgarh from the heirs of Dal Singh, whom Ranjit had solemnly undertaken to respect, is of comparative insignificance, except in so far as it affords a fresh insight into his personal character ; but it affords the Mahomedan historian the opportunity of leaving on record the fact that—"Ranjit showed not the smallest regard for treaties or promises. He entered into them, or violated them, as best suited his schemes : " and the meagre grant of two villages, which was made to the widow of the Guzrat chief for her maintenance, hardly wipes off the stain from the escutcheon of the Maharaja.

In the same year—the first of his new sovereignty—into which were crowded so many crucial and typical acts, there came also this further one. He was enabled to pay off an old and large debt of gratitude to the Kanhya dowager, his mother-in-law, who had done so much to build up his supremacy, by marching to her help at Batala, when she was there threatened by Sansar Chand, the Raja of Kangra. Ranjit personally took the field on this occasion, and not only drove off the invader and the allies whom he had induced to join him in the hope of plunder, but pursued the retreating Raja of Kangra into his own territory, from which he sliced off the entire Tappa of Naushera, and handed it over, with all its revenue, to Sada Kaur, to whom he took advantage of the same opportunity to restore all the territory that had some years previously been wrested by Sansar Chand from Gurbaksh.

Sansar Chand renewed his ravages from time to time on territories claimed by Sada Kaur or her allies, at varying intervals, as in 1804, but retreated on each approach of Ranjit to the help of his mother-in-law : until finally the game ceased to be deserving of the candle required to light it.

The story of successive victories which microscopic records have dignified with the proportions of conquests, wearies the thoughtful reader, in search rather of critical incidents, or of movements characteristic either of the ruling spirit or of the human clay on which he elected to exercise the right of a potter. Now and again an occurrence of domestic interest lights up a gloomy record of conflict, only, however, to sink back into it, like a light spluttering in a bog. The birth of Kharak Singh in 1802 gave Ranjit an heir to his new kingdom. Later in the same year, a beautiful Mahomedan girl, named Moran, whom Cunningham inaccurately treats as a courtesan, fascinated the sensualist ; and, after raising her to the share of his dignities which one wife could enjoy, and striking a new coin

to perpetuate her memory, he proceeded with her to Hardwar to perform one of those religious pilgrimages with which he varied the monotony of his sordid and sanguinary career.

The civil strife carried on in Afghanistan between Shah Shuja and the four sons of Taimur Shah, probably first suggested to Ranjit the complete crushing of the Mahomedan chief of Jhang, who had always been, if not in liveliest sympathy with the Kabul Darbar, at least livelier than most other Mahomedan cis-Indus chiefs in reflecting the danger which menaced the Panjab from Afghanistan. The overthrow of Ahmad Khan and sack of Jhang were followed by what can only be described as a sweep of conquests which, though seemingly disconnected, and sometimes divided by intervals of years, must now be seen to have formed part of a fixed policy of emancipation for the Sikh kingdom from Durani domination.

To devise a policy of this kind demanded talent of no humble order ; to enforce it, required military virtues of no mean kind. Ranjit possessed and exhibited both. The question whether accident or design, external provocation or internal character, was responsible for the unadulterated selfishness, unrelieved by a single ray of generous conduct, which stamped itself upon these proceedings, does not appear to have detained the historian, and need not delay the critic. The declining Mahomedan family of Raikot, which, during the life of Rai Jhas Khan, had possessed considerable influence in Ludhiana, was, after his death, simply wiped out by Ranjit, who found in this possession a bait by which the Hindu Raja of Jhind could be attached to his cause. The idea that moral influences pervaded human society and could be turned to future influence by present respect, never once occurred to his one-eyed mind. Living for the present, and only for that in it which promised immediate gain or immediate gratification, he showed, even while displaying administrative capacity equal to all present demands, an utter want of the higher statesmanship, which had in a measure distinguished more than one Moghal sovereign at Delhi, and which, while preferring present to future successes, never sacrificed a single substantial advantage for any gratification not worth the cost.

But though wanting in that imperial instinct which brings a ruler *en rapport* with alien subjects, Ranjit possessed that more selfish and equally useful faculty which leads men to select serviceable agents. The choice of the Chatri, Mohkam Chand of Guzrat, for a chief command, and one or two other equally wise selections, buttressed his growing power in a manner not, perhaps, fully understood by himself at that time. If this faculty had been more largely and more widely developed, so as both

to enlist talent of all varieties, and particularly among Mahomedans, and thus to pacify the racial and religious animosities which his crushing triumphs everywhere aroused, his power might have been a less purely personal, and more a national, force than it proved to be after his death.

If in the first contact of Ranjit Singh with British power, the latter was suppliant for help, it was not so in the second. In the decisive battle fought at Delhi on 11th September 1808, in which 5,000 Sikhs had fought for Holkar, Lord Lake had routed the Mahrattas, and dispersed these Sikh allies. Holkar, as shown both by Cunningham and in Skinner's Memoirs, never recovered from the blow; and it was as a fugitive in 1805, after the defeats of Fattehgarh and Dig, that he claimed the attention of Ranjit Singh, whose aid he now sought against the British, who, in the pursuit after him, when he advanced towards Amritsar with an army of 15,000 men, crossed the Bias and encamped at Jallalabad. At that period British Indian statesmanship contemplated no further extension of territory than that already possessed, which sufficed for the commercial triumphs to which its views for the future were being restricted, under directions from the East India Company.

It was with something of a feeling of relief that Lord Lake appears to have looked to Ranjit Singh to act as an intermediary with Holkar, after the latter had been driven from his own territory. On the 11th January 1806, a treaty was concluded between Holkar and Lord Lake by which the former renounced all possessions in Northern India. To this treaty Ranjit was contributory, and it bound him to the pleasing duty—which he could renounce if it ever became profitable to do so—of giving no assistance to the Mahratta power against the British. As Sayad Muhammad quaintly, but not untruly says, "thus was the evil, which Ranjit Singh dreaded, averted; and his Sikhs blessed their stars that they had not been entangled in war with the foreigners."

The prompt retreat of the British force, which enabled Ranjit once more to breathe freely, also, by one of those strange freaks of fate which follow men against whom the stars in their courses do not seem to fight, actually added to his personal influence, to which it was held alike by his rivals and by his friends to be chiefly owing, not only that Holkar escaped with the skin of his teeth, but that the new white-warriors, who had risen like a storm-cloud over the sky of the Panjab, had been suddenly and peacefully charmed away. It affords another of those glimpses of his real character, in which it must be said that the admirable and painstaking history of Sayad Muhammad abounds, that „Ranjit Singh, with his mind set at rest, freely indulged in

all kinds of excesses" at the filthy *Holi* festival which immediately followed. All that a formidable foreign foe might prove to structures such as that which Ranjit had built up in the Panjab, can perhaps only be rightfully apprehended in the perspective which distance has now given to the mixture of stirring and revolting events which make up his history. But the anxiety of Ranjit seems to have been as real as it was reasonable; and if the subsequent sense of relief was less intelligible to the Western military mind, it was hardly less natural in the peculiar type of Eastern hero who showed it. The fiercest of wild animals, which are also instinctively cruel, have moments of reactionary cowardice, bearing testimony to the operation of some obscure law of compensation; and the allowance which psychology makes for the beast can hardly be denied to the man.

The next foreign cloud which overshadowed, or more correctly, flitted over, the Panjab, caused the Maharaja less concern; though, if he had truly weighed the chances of war, as these were influenced by designs then actually felt to have been in operation, and by motives subsequently known to have been influential at the time, his judgment might have been reversed.

The Gurkhas are, perhaps, the one Asiatic race on whom most Indian commanders have learned to place the greatest dependence. True, brave, not addicted much to any degrading vice, they make admirable fighting men. A large body of them invaded Kangra from Nipal, under Amar Singh, in 1806; and it is easy to imagine more than one result of this invasion, which might have caused Ranjit Singh serious inconvenience, and might even have exposed him to some danger. If Amar Singh had given battle at once, and, cutting through the demoralized troops of Sansar Chand, made overtures to the Mahomedans of Rohilkand, who were only too ready to band against the new Sikh power that was crushing them all—instead of awaiting the approach of Ranjit Singh, and then tamely offering to bribe him off,—the Panjab might have had another history than the one which we have to study to-day: always provided that, when Amar Singh moved from his base, further relays of Gurkha troops could have followed to support him. Even if the Nipalese general had engaged the Kangra army, and, defeating it, as he must have done, had, in the flush of victory, encountered Ranjit Singh's by no means formidable host, it is impossible to say that the result must have been favourable to the Maharaja, or that, being unfavourable, it would not have been followed by disastrous consequences. But during a period of unwise delay, pestilence broke out among the Gurkhas, who retired as rapidly as they had come: and

Ranjit Singh himself withdrew, leaving an army of observation consisting of 1,000 men to watch the Kangra frontier.

The tours in which Ranjit for the ensuing two years indulged, originating, though some of them did, in mingled desires for conquest and display, virtually degenerated, with a single exception which need not detain us, into a series of arbitrations between chiefs at variance with one another—or, as in one case, where a chief had no one else near enough to quarrel with, with his wife—a judicial function which, however, seems to have resolved itself into the receipt of handsome presents from suitors for favour, and perverted awards in which the balance thus weighted audibly struck the ground. To this category may unquestionably be relegated the verdict in favour of Rani Aus Kaur of Patiala, whose gift of a diamond necklace, worth Rs. 70,000, and the historic brass cannon known as Kara Khan, secured, jointly with her son, a jagir with an annual revenue of Rs. 50,000.

The calculating nature of Ranjit is disclosed in a new and almost amusing light in his tacit acquiescence in the fraud, which he is generally believed to have penetrated at once, and by which his mother-in-law and friend, Sada Kaur, endeavoured to atone for the sterility of her daughter, Mahtab, by presenting Ranjit Singh, during his absence on one of his periodical tours, with twins who had been procured from a humble home in Hoshiarpur.

The lads thus juggled into spurious royalty grew up into manhood, and, as Sayad Muhammad naively adds, "Ranjit Singh was never deceived, but as he liked the idea of being called a father, he treated both as sons and called them Shahzadas or princes." The incident is both curious and instructive as shedding a flood of light on a type of character which is impracticable under any other conditions than those which here produced it. Ranjit Singh, even in the height of his power, was grateful to Sada Kaur for all her past devotion to his cause. He was not incapable, under stress of temptation, of exacting nazaranas from tributary sardars of the Kangra mountains who owed allegiance to Sada Kaur, on whom their gifts to Ranjit necessarily reacted in the way of a fine or sacrifice of revenue. But he found it impossible to repudiate the sons fathered on him by a transparent trick, though the transaction must have cost him infinitely more than the money obtained from the Kangra sardars. For an explanation, "he liked the idea of being called father," may not strike the European reader as being absolutely effective; but for the true oriental despot, it is as good as, and sounds better than, any other which can now be substituted for it, and may be true.

It is not easy with any information that is available to the

public—though full explanations of the whole transaction are doubtless to be had in the official records of the day—to understand the next reception of a British envoy by Ranjit Singh. In April 1808 an Indian wakil of the British Government, which had now consolidated itself in Bengal and was spreading itself in Hindustan arrived at Lahore with presents for the Maharaja, ostensibly designed to strengthen the friendly relations which had been established by the mission of Yusuf Ali Khan, already referred to, eight years previously. The wakil was well received, and presented with a khillat valued at Rs. 5,000, together with other valuable articles, chiefly products of the province for his masters : to whom, in addition, he doubtless took back the secret information regarding Ranjit Singh's relations with his own subjects, as well as with Holkar, and with the few remaining independent Mahomedan chiefs of the Panjab, which he was in all likelihood charged to obtain, and which Ranjit himself would have had no interest in withholding.

Though Ranjit Singh was now paramount in the Panjab, even he himself barely hoped that the Sikh jealousies, which had haunted his early successes, had been extinguished by his later triumphs. There is no authenticated evidence to connect the Sikh movement against him, that began to show itself now in Malwa and Sirhind, with the visit of the British envoy, but it is not inconceivable that the visit itself innocently suggested the form which the movement now began to take. Jhindh and Malwa, though standing outside the circle which enclosed the 12 Misl of the old Sikh hierarchy, still shared with all Sikhs the Rajput ancestry and later conversion to the Khalsa, which may be held to constitute identity with the common cause, into which hatred of the big usurper now entered as a fresh element ; and they found in Patiala the link that was wanting to extend the movement beyond the limits of a bourgeois conspiracy.

At a meeting held in Samana, in the Patiala State, called to devise whether the remedy of an appeal to the British was more dangerous than the disease of absorption into a Sikh empire, that instinctive personal interest which blinds mere fighting machines such as most of these chiefs were to larger views, led the conference to devise an appeal to the British. To Mr. Seton, the Resident at Delhi, accordingly, a mission, consisting of four chiefs and principal men, was sent, which took the precaution of submitting its views in a petition. The main ground of the claim, that independent Sikh chiefs had always been under the protection of the Resident at Delhi, must have fallen strangely on the ear of Mr. Seton, if he remembered the commercial professions which had preceded the expansion of British influence in Hindustan, and contrasted them with the decaying influence of the

Moghal. No British official worthy to hold the position of Resident at the Court of Delhi at such a time could have helped forming views more in harmony with the British future in India than the terms of the answer actually made to the Sikh chiefs; but the answer actually made to them was that no hope could be held out to them of any direct British interference in their relations with the Lahore Court. The abstract sympathy that was freely thrown into the disappointment thus caused to the Sikh chiefs does not appear to have altered its flavour in the least. Ranjit Singh, who was informed of this mission, called a meeting of these chiefs in Amritsar, and strove to allay their fears by every device of his eager mind and ready tongue.

But events were ripening in India under influences which, though in it, were not of it. And here may be quoted a thoughtful and careful summary by Sayad Muhammad Latif of one of the most important crises in Indian history :—

"The political aspect of affairs in India underwent a material change, and the policy of non-interference inaugurated by Lord Cornwallis was totally abandoned by the new Governor-General of India, Lord Minto, a statesman of great promise and of special experience at the Board of Control. The ambitious Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France, now in the zenith of his power, who had won brilliant victories in Europe, and had just concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, was believed to be meditating the invasion of India, in concert with the Turks and Persians; and to prevent his designs, Lord Minto determined to form a defensive alliance, not only with the powers beyond the Jamna and Satlej, but also with those beyond the Indus. It was accordingly resolved to send ambassadors to the Court of Shah Singh, the King of Kábul, the Court of Persia, and of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, whose authority had now been firmly established in the Panjab, to negotiate with those monarchs, and to persuade them that their interests were indetical with those of the British, and that, in the event of an invasion of this country by the French Government, the interests of the Sikhs would be the first to suffer. He therefore urged upon them the necessity of a policy of unity, as the only means by which they could hope to keep the enemy at bay. Mr. Elphinstone was deputed to the Court of Kábul. Sir John Malcolm to the Court of Teheran, and in August 1808, Mr. (afterwards Lord) C. T. Metcalfe, a young Bengal Civilian, one of Lord Wellesley's ablest pupils, who had already distinguished himself for political sagacity and fairness, was sent as the British plenipotentiary to the Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore."—pp. 373-74.

As a sister picture to this one, a picture almost necessary to enable the reader to grasp the real questions at issue in the

crisis that had come, the following equally telling passage from the same work may be read :—

"Everybody had now seen the rising power and fortune of Ranjit Singh. He had conquered city after city and town after town, without being checked in any quarter in his ambitious career, which appeared to be unlimited. He had got the better of the strongest leagues which had been formed against him ; he had broken the power of united confederacies and humbled many proud families and tribes to the dust. His arms had conquered the countries between the old Hydaspes and the Bias, forming the Panjab proper, and even penetrated beyond the limits of the Panjab proper. The Afghans who were left in possession of the north-west portions of the Panjab, the Sadozai family of Pathans who held the province of Multan, and the Hill Raja of Kangra had already felt the weight of his power, and were treated by him as ordinary vassals. His highest ambition now, as Maharaja of Lahore, was to unite all Sikhs under one banner, and extend his sway from the banks of the Satlej to the Jamna, and thus to absorb into his own dominions all the independent states encompassed by those rivers. Already his last two Satlej campaigns had borne good fruit, and his successive inroads and victories had reasonably led him to hope that another season would see the whole country annexed to the new kingdom of Lahore. He was munificent in his rewards and severe in his exactions. He was dreaded, if not loved, by his subjects, and respected by those around him. His power was absolute, and, from the chief of a state to the common soldier, every one implicitly obeyed him. The British envoy had personally observed how submissive the cis-Satlej Rajas and other chiefs were to him. He had no cause to be attracted to the side of the English whose interests, he knew, were adverse to his own, so far as the cis-Satlej States, the choicest object of his ambition, were concerned."—page 374.

The consent which even the English reader gives to this careful statement would, of course, in any moral estimate of large social movements, have to be discounted by the fact, that no mental movement is produced by the record of this brilliant career at all corresponding with the heart-throb with which even the schoolboy reads the story of Hannibal. But whether because the greater fulness of modern history brings within reach details of individual life, which are lost to the critical consciousness in the story of ancient warriors, or there were seen in old-world heroes, glimpses of a great human nature which found something in the world to worship, that was wholly outside of self, the fact remains that a moral analysis of character is not indispensable to a just realization of the political crisis that was maturing in India.

The game which Ranjit Singh now played with Mr. Metcalfe required both skill in its conception and boldness and courage in its execution. Unless we adopt a view which was not wholly unknown among contemporary official constructions of his conduct at this juncture—the view, namely, that Ranjit acted with reckless eccentricity leaving chance to explain his actions favourably—the alternative idea is, that he had determined on treating the British envoy with only so much deference as was unavoidable. He left him to follow him about as the representative of an inferior Power, while he exhibited before him his irresistible force and matchless skill in conquering, in the very presence of the envoy, victim after victim, and among others, some who had claimed the very protection of the British. Mr. Metcalfe who, while complaining of the discourtesy shown him when being led about with almost contemptuous unconcern in the very sight and hearing of the Sikh chiefs who had sought British protection, only once ventured to offer any direct protest against the course actually pursued by Ranjit Singh. Finding that Ranjit Singh was actually breaking the agreement made with Lord Lake in 1805 by refusing to recognize the Satlej as the border of his kingdom, Mr. Metcalfe abandoned the Maharaja's camp and returned to Delhi, leaving Ranjit (while he, Mr. Metcalfe, awaited further instructions) to pursue his conquests over forbidden ground, unattended by himself in the rôle of a helpless witness.

It had by this time become evident to the Governor-General that, unless some decided change could be effected in the attitude taken up by Ranjit Singh, which was virtually that of a military ruler above all treaties, a conflict with him was only a question of time, delay in solving which only left additional advantages with the enemy. Mr. Metcalfe was accordingly instructed to put his foot down on the earlier understanding that the cis-Satlej States were under British protection, and that Ranjit should not merely not trespass further on debateable ground, but restore to their rightful possessors all lands already wrongly taken. This ultimatum was delivered to the Maharaja at Amritsar by Mr. Metcalfe on the 4th December 1808. Ranjit Singh procrastinated as long as he could, but finally determined on armed resistance. Ochterlony, on his appearance at the head of a British army in January 1809, was hailed as a deliverer by the Malwa and Sirhind chieftains, and a war, which must have proved bloody and desperate, would probably have broken out, but for one of those unforeseen incidents which often turn the scale in human affairs. A small band of Mahomedan troopers in British employ, while celebrating the Moharram festival with *Tazzias*, was set upon by an overwhelming rabble of Sikhs, whom the disciplined valour of the troopers enabled them to scatter in very little time. The incident im-

pressed the Maharaja's imagination forcibly, and led him to form impressions regarding the probable consequence of a conflict on a larger scale, neither flattering to the Khalsa vanity nor calculated to encourage hopes. Under one of those impulses, his subjection to which at once separates Ranjit Singh by a gulf from any category of generalship now recognized as great, the Sikh ruler put an exaggerated estimate on a mere exhibition of superior military discipline, ignored all the national vitality which underlay all his own past successes, tamely apologized to the British Resident for the fanaticism of his Akalis who had interfered with the religious ceremonial of the British troopers, withdrew his army from the Satlej, and bound himself by treaty not to trespass beyond it. The establishment of a British cantonment in Ludhiana, which took place at this time, is charged with the origin of the grotesque jest in which the Maharaja is said, while gazing on a map in which British possessions were marked in red, to have muttered sadly : *sab lâl hojâwēgâ*.

The Gwalior chief Sindhia was for some years after this treaty suspected of conspiring with Holkar and the Rohilla chieftain, Amir Khan, to induce Ranjit Singh to join them in a general movement which should wipe the British off the face of Hindustan ; and it is more than probable that Ranjit himself endeavoured to tamper with the loyalty of the cis-Satlej States. But, nothing coming of these negotiations, Ranjit resumed his habit of traversing his borders like a roaring lion seeking whom he might devour. A second encounter with and defeat of Amar Singh, the Gurkha commander, who made another descent on Kangra, prompted the Nipalese general to seek an alliance with Ochterlony, with the object of crushing the Maharaja ; but this overture was rejected, and Ranjit Singh began the policy of appointing military chiefs to the charge of all his new conquests and such older conquests as were also threatened.

The British wars with Nipal and the British negotiations with Afghanistan which occupied the next few years, though they unquestionably made their results felt in the history of the Sikh nation a few years later, touch so lightly on the personal history of Ranjit Singh, at this particular period, as to demand no detailed reference to them in this place.

Shah Shuja's effort in 1810, to engage Ranjit Singh in the recovery of Multan, which he still claimed, and which the Maharaja proceeded to claim on his behalf, even while the dethroned Afghan sovereign was a fugitive from his own dominions, where a civil war was now raging furiously, enable us to resume the thread of Ranjit Singh's career : only, however, to state at once, that he failed ignominiously in making any impression on the rebellious province, retired from it in con-

siderable mortification, and set about remodelling his army on European patterns. The valuable services by which Mohkam Chand consolidated the Sikh kingdom for his master during the next year, 1811, which closed with his reducing all the country between Manjha and Multan, culminated in his own appointment as Dewan ; and his career is worthy of note as furnishing one of the striking instances of the Maharaja's loyalty to his friends. Mohkam Chand justified the honor conferred on him by his complete rout of the Afghan forces under Fateh Khan at Khyrabad in 1813.

Ochterlony's visit to Lahore in 1812 on the occasion of the marriage of the Maharaja's son, Kharak Singh, turned over the next page of British diplomacy with the Sikh ruler, but, beyond leading to more cordial relations than those which had previously existed, presented no substantial result.

No writer of the story of Ranjit Singh's life can afford to omit all mention of the circumstances under which he extorted the kohinur from Shah Shuja in 1813, while the latter was his guest in Lahore, after starving the Afghan fugitive and subjecting both himself and his family to great indignities. The disproportionate length at which the incident is dwelt upon in some histories of the Maharaja is possibly owing to an idea that it places a great historical character in some new and exceptional light. A truer view of the whole transaction will be found in the simple reflection, that the theft and extortion which are found in the occurrence, in addition to the want of chivalry which surrounded it, crystallize the ruling principles of the Maharaja's life, which perhaps come into clearer view when focussed in the incident of the robbery of the kohinur, than, as we usually find them, dispersed over conquests surrounded with a halo of military glory ; and this view of the larger part of Ranjit's career is in no way affected by the reticence of those historians who either minimize the incident of the kohinur,—as Cunningham, for example, has seen fit to do,—or envelop all its surroundings, which are full of the dramatical interest of a tragic romance, in secrecy.

From this period until 1826, when the Maharaja died, although the central figure is still clearly perceptible in all the movements of the Sikh nation, and their movements are still visibly coloured with the characteristics of the man who inspires or leads them, the record becomes more distinctly that of the nation and less that of the individual than it had hitherto been. The abortive expedition to Kashmir in 1814, undertaken against the counsel of the shrewd Mohkam Chand, adds a page to Sikh history in which, without dwarfing the sovereign, the valuable services of the Dewan came into play in a man-

ner illustrating the evolution of the policy of a state rather than a display of individual caprice—though the caprice is still predominant and results, in the case of the Kashmir episode, in merited disaster. "The Maharaja," naturally enough, "ever afterwards expressed a horror of the snow and cold of Kashmir, and the subject was such a sore one with him, that he never touched upon it without denouncing Kashmir as a vile place;" an impression which, it is interesting to note, survived long after the complete subjection of Kashmir in the later days of his reign, and its final absorption into his dominions.

A formal council of the Sikh nation held in 1805, to which the Mahomedan writer hardly gives the prominence which is its due, but to which Cunningham does more justice, fairly reflects the type of national character into which Ranjit's subjects had been matured under the joint action of their opportunities and of his spur. In their earlier history, before their religion had been cast in political moulds, and inward impulse had been completely subordinated to external expediency, the old Gurumattas, or religious councils, had served a most important purpose in inspiring a race of warriors with sentiments in which the religious element served as a disinfectant against the sordid self-aggrandizement into which the plundering wars of their race necessarily degenerated. Nothing of the kind had taken place for years. The change, which can be matched from a striking phase in the history of the not wholly dissimilar Hebrew race, is graphically described by Cunningham :—

"The singleness of purpose, the confident belief in the aid of God, which had animated mechanics and shepherds to resent persecution and to triumph over Ahmad Shah, no longer possessed the minds of their descendants born to comparative power and affluence, and who, like rude and ignorant men, broken loose from all law, gave the rein to their grosser passions. Their ambition was personal, and their desire was for worldly enjoyment. The genuine spirit of Sikhism had again sought the dwelling of the peasant to reproduce it in another form; the rude system of mixed independence and confederacy was unsuited to an extended dominion. It had served its ends of immediate agglomeration, and the "Misls" were in effect dissolved. The mass of the people remained satisfied with their village freedom, to which taxation and inquisition were unknown; but the petty chiefs and their paid followers, to whom their faith was the mere expression of a conventional custom, were anxious for predatory excursions, and for additions to their temporal power. Some were willing to join the English, others were ready to link

their fortunes with the Mahrattas, and all had become jealous of Ranjit Singh, who alone was desirous of excluding the strange invaders, as the great obstacle to his own ambition of founding a military monarchy which should ensure to the people the congenial occupation of conquest. In truth Ranjit Singh laboured, with more or less of intelligent design, to give unity and coherence to diverse actions and scattered elements; to mould the increasing Sikh nation into a well-ordered state, or commonwealth, as Govind had developed a sect into a people, and had given application and purpose to the general institutions of Nanak."—p. 141.

It is a fair question, however, and one suggested by Cunningham's own frank admissions elsewhere—as, for instance, in page 187, on the character of Ranjit Singh—whether the difference which he draws between the rural and town populations is not purely academic. Ranjit had swept over the Panjab in a series of tours, which had included nearly every large group of villages in some shadow of trouble or involved it in some chain of responsibility; for the tribute which he exacted from leaders came eventually from their tenants. Nevertheless the picture drawn above of a general course of demoralization is as striking as it is true, no matter who the victims of the process may have been. The capture of Multan in 1818 bulks largely in the declining years of Ranjit's reign, not less because, in setting as it were a seal to the final extinction of Mahomedan sovereignty from every important portion of the Panjab, it closed that conflict between the Khalsa and Islam which formed, while it lasted, an open sore in the Sikh polity, than because it rounded off the South-western territories of the Sikh nation by giving them a natural boundary.

This was the first great accomplishment of Ranjit's reign in which he was not the principal factor. He had taken a personal interest in supervising the preparations before his army left Lahore in 1817, but when it actually took the field in the following year, it was nominally under the command of Ranjit's son, Kharak Singh, supported by Missar Dewan Chand, who was to take the lead in the operations. Ranjit closely watched the operations as they were reported to him in his capital, and their tedious development admitted of his even communicating instructions to Dewan Chand on the field. When Multan fell, later in the year, Lahore became the scene of one of those public rejoicings in which boundless extravagance formed the most striking feature, but which have by no means been confined to Eastern or savage people. In the arrangements made for the Civil administration of the acquired province, there flashed forth some last scintillations of the governing talent of which indications had been given in the early part

of his career, but how had the fine gold become dim ! Instead of enlisting local influences, or local genius on his side, Ranjit could devise nothing better than the coarse device of pensioning off all the Mahomedan patriotism that had not been preferentially obliterated with the sword, and entrusting the civil government entirely to the Khatri, Sukhdyal, who surrounded himself, or was surrounded by his master, with exclusively Hindu agents.

The virtual extinction of all formidable Mahomedan power within the Panjab led Ranjit to cast prying eyes once more on Peshawar, where Yar Mohamad represented Ayub Khan, who had mounted the musnad in Kabul. This man having fled on the approach of the Sikh force, Jahandad Khan, who had betrayed Attock to Ranjit Singh, and thereby proved his own complete detachment from the Afghan alliance, was rewarded with the control of Peshawar. It was, however, too remote from Lahore, and too full of a mixed Mahomedan population to be anything but a thorn in the side of Ranjit Singh. and in the course of very few months it was recaptured by Dost Mohamad. As Jahandad Khan, whose name has just been mentioned, will not appear in these pages again, it may be added—as some kind of indication of Mahomedan sentiment in regard to the prospect of some Indian, as opposed to an Afghan, control being finally established over Peshawar—that, having failed, equally when representing Ranjit Singh on the Indus and again when aiding the final spurt by which Shah Shuja (in the year 1818) endeavoured to raise his standard beyond the Indus, Jahandad Khan finally shook the dust off his treacherous feet against the cities which he had successively betrayed, and cast in his lot with Shaik Mohamad in Herat.

The last years of Ranjit Singh, though full of incidents of both administrative and political importance, representing, as they do, a series of repressive measures levelled mainly against the Mahomedan races of the Western Panjab—and susceptible, indeed, of being worked up into an historiette as interesting as any which India has ever furnished for European students—give us few, it may be said, no more character-pictures of the "Lion of the North." All that was original in Ranjit Singh, whether creative or destructive, was now nearly played out. Beyond the Indus lay the smouldering fire of Afghan bigotry, which wanted only some match alight with true fire to work it into a blaze—a blaze which would at once spread from Peshawar along the Hazarajat to Multan. But the match did not turn up ; and the fire did not blaze forth. Beyond the Satlej, eastward, crouched quite another description of danger—a mysterious decree of Providence in the form of white traders, who seemed to avoid all unnecessary conflicts and spoke very quietly in conferences,

but who could be made to fight, and who struck hard when they fought, and finally swallowed territory as though to the manner born, *i.e.*, with all the skill of an oriental despot. The principles of British statesmanship, at this its miocene tertiary period, were probably so much mysterious nonsense to the Sikh Maharaja, who only foresaw the final predominance of the red line, and did not care much by what metaphysical process the extension could be finally explained. His dread of this mysterious power is best shown in his ready surrender of his old dreams of Eastern conquest, when brought into contact with Mr. Metcalfe on the Satlej.

But, before passing on to the last chapter of Ranjit's history, we may dwell for a few moments on the retribution which time brought for Sada Kaur, the Kanhya chieftainess, in return for the twins she had palmed off through her barren daughter Mah-tab on Ranjit. The Maharaja desired that Sada Kaur should endow one of her spurious grandsons with property belonging to the Kanhya territory, which Ranjit had not absorbed, and the partition of which, in the way now proposed by him, would finally diminish the possessions and influence of Sada Kaur. This lady, on the other hand, insisted that the whole patrimony of the prince should come from the father's side. The grim humour with which the Maharaja could study as much of this suggestion on the part of his mother-in-law as he thought really genuine may better be imagined than described. Sada Kaur was coaxed into a trap and forced to sign the deed of gift on which Ranjit had decided, while Kharak Singh, his son and heir, was sent on to despoil her of all her valuables and take possession of all her property. A baser return for the services which she had rendered him in the early days of his struggles for supremacy it would be difficult to conceive; but it brings no surprise to any careful student of Ranjit's career, who follows his actions with ordinary intelligence. He allowed no consideration to stand in the way of the gratification of any desire, and the comedy in the fate that overtook a meddling mother-in-law as it strikes a European mind, has no existence for the oriental imagination, or any Western mind that understands it.

The design of moulding his troops on European patterns, which had already been formed by Ranjit Singh, received an unexpected impetus from the arrival in his capital, in 1822, of the Italian Ventura and the Frenchman Allard, who, four years later, were joined by two other Frenchmen, Court and Avitable. The four foreigners were all placed in positions of trust in the Sikh Army, the two latter receiving the rank of Generals. The process of denaturalizing any uncivilized force is one of doubtful wisdom and of extreme delicacy. These foreigners had not a *tabula rasa* to build upon, or they might

have raised forces as effective as those with which the British were winning their way all over the country. But although the more experienced indigenous leaders offered a natural opposition to the new fangled craze, the influence of the foreigners in the army of Ranjit became very visible both to himself and to his men.

Sayad Muhammad is careful to record every instance in which overtures made to the British, by enemies whom Ranjit Singh failed in crushing completely, were studiously rejected on the ground that any interference would involve a breach of existing treaties; as well as every instance in which the British power, unsolicited, opposed the advances of Ranjit against territories under British protection. The combined loyalty and consistency of this attitude, at once intelligible and striking to the mind of a ruler who knew no law but his own caprice, evidently impressed Ranjit Singh very deeply. There was also this in it that he may not have fathomed. Servants of a remote master, these British soldiers and statesmen worked on principles which they had assimilated and made part of their individual identity. They were always equally loyal to their country and to themselves. The spectacle must have afforded ground for contemplation to a ruler like Ranjit, to whom disregard of all restraints is likely to have appeared an essential element of strength of character. Whether he was ever converted to another and sounder opinion, it is not improbable that the invisible restraints under which he sometimes seems to have acted in the later portion of his eventful life, and which wear an aspect of eccentricity in comparison with the consistent recklessness of his earlier manhood, may have arisen from a foreign inspiration of whose source he was himself imperfectly aware. The present of a handsome shawl tent, which Ranjit Singh sent King William in 1828, added a link to a chain, beginning early in what may be called his responsible public career, and extending into its close, a chain, never very tangible to a rough touch, and always liable to be easily broken, but still always remaining in evidence of an earnest desire, in a nature neither usually earnest nor consistent, to be in friendly relations with the red power that had arisen in India and was going some day to master it. Another and less intangible joint in the same chain is presented in the reception given to Burnes at Lahore in 1831, which Sayad Muhammad describes as follows:—

"The streets were lined with cavalry, artillery and infantry, who saluted the British officer as he passed seated on an elephant. The streets were thronged with spectators, who filled every balcony and window overlooking the street. As the party entered the first court of the palace, they were re-

ceived by Raja Dhyan Singh, described as being a fine soldier-like person, dressed in armour, who conducted them to the door of the palace. While Lieutenant Burnes stooped to remove his shoes at the threshold, he suddenly found himself in the arms of a 'diminutive old-looking man,' the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh."

There was a great display of cordiality, and a grand parade of troops; and the Maharaja left nothing undone to impress his guest with a sense of his desire to honour the British power. The reality of this new influence in his thoughts was strangely illustrated in another way, when the Frenchman Allard attempted to arouse suspicions of British motives in the Maharaja's mind, and the latter summoned astrologers, who, "after consulting their holy books, declared that the British were sincere friends of the Maharaja." These auspices were sought when Ranjit consented to meet the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, in 1831 in Amritsar; and, proving favourable, they led to an interview that powerfully impressed the Sikh sovereign. As the result of this and the return visit, and the interchanges of presents and civilities that followed, a fresh treaty was formed and signed on the 31st October 1831; and the camp broke up on the following day.

These incidents bring us to the end of the period at which the purely personal history of Ranjit Singh properly closes. The events that crowded into the interval between 1831 and 1834, when the Maharaja died, form rather a preface to the drama that followed his death. Decaying health, already heralding the advance of death, left its mark both on his person and on his policy, which consisted mainly in conserving the kingdom he had built up, and shielding it from foreign danger.

On his death in 1834 his corpse was burned with great display, and his widows were burnt on the funeral pyre. A single incident of this final display, which may perhaps soften the anger which its horrible details are calculated to arouse in every European mind, was the touching devotion of the warrior statesman, Dhyan Singh, who was profoundly moved by his master's death. This man is the reputed possessor of a character rare in Indian military leaders of any age, phenomenal in that of Ranjit. To have roused a devotion so profound in such a mind, may be proof of hidden virtues unrevealed to the remainder of the universe.

W. C. MADGE.

ART. XII.—THE USES AND ADVANTAGES OF AN INSECTARIUM.

INSECTS play a highly important part in the economy of nature; for they not only serve as articles of food to the members of other classes of the Animal Kingdom, but also prevent the rapid propagation of other species of the same class, by destroying and feeding upon their larvæ. As many insects, on the one hand, prove pests to humankind; so, on the other hand, many of them minister to the daily wants of human beings. Some, such as the mosquito and the locust, are sources of great annoyance and loss to man; whereas others, such as the silk-worm and the bee, are of great benefit to him. Some members of the insect class are also characterized by the possession of great beauty of form and colouring. Thus, it will be seen that the group of Articulata, or Invertebrate Animals with jointed limbs, such as Insects, Spiders, Myriapods and Crustacea, are a source of endless interest to those who have an observing eye for the beauties of natural objects.

In India, where the invertebrate fauna is both rich and varied, there have lately arisen a number of scientific observers who are not only taking a great deal of interest in the study of this class of the Animal Kingdom, but also doing much to clear up many doubtful points regarding their life-histories. At the present moment, the problem of determining, classifying and collecting insects which are destructive to agricultural and horticultural produce, is engaging the attention of only the Government and one or two scientific observers in this country. Of the other articulated invertebrates, those which attract the greatest number of collectors and investigators here, are insects belonging to the favourite order Lepidoptera, both Rhopaloceros and Heteroceros (Butterflies and Moths). The next favourite order is that of Hymenoptera, or the Ants, Bees and Wasps. With regard to the other orders of insects, such as the Coleoptera Longicorna and Lamellicorna (Longicorn and Lamellicorn Beetles), Diptera, Hemiptera, Neuroptera and Orthoptera, the men in this country, who are collecting and scientifically studying them, are few and far between. Hence the knowledge of these last mentioned orders of Indian insects is somewhat meagre.

Though there exist in the various museums of India, collections of preserved insects, spiders, myriapods and crustacea, yet none of them, as at present exhibited, are sufficiently instructive. The knowledge of both Europeans and Natives regarding the habits, instincts and economy of the articulated

invertebrates of this country is very defective, though they are in no way less interesting than the other members of the Animal Kingdom. The dried specimens in our museums are only beautiful to look at (and, even in the case of those that are gorgeously coloured, their beauty is deteriorated by continued exposure to light), and teach us nothing about the habits, instincts, mode of reproduction, metamorphoses and economy of the living insects.

The best mode of conveying instruction on these points in a popular way, is by exhibiting living specimens of insects in properly-constructed glass-cases. When living specimens of different species of insects, spiders (Arachnoidea), centipedes and scorpions (Myriapoda) and crustaceans, together with their peculiar food-plants, are placed in different glass-cases and under conditions resembling their natural surroundings, and all these are housed in a properly-constructed building, affording them as much protection from the weather as possible, the whole collection is called an *Insectarium*. The value of such an institution, as a means of imparting knowledge regarding the habits and economy of these animals, would be further enhanced by exhibiting, alongside of the living insects, specimens of their respective nests, their economic products and the ravages wrought by them. The living specimens should be exhibited in glass-cases, in their systematic orders, so as to give visitors, both scientific and non-scientific, a general idea of the most interesting forms, and of their classification.

In England much has been, and is being, done for the dissemination, among the people, of a more accurate knowledge regarding insects and other articulata. In the United States of America, too, steps are being taken in the same direction, for it is proposed to establish, in connection with the "Natural History Gardens and Aquaria" at Boston, U. S. A., an institution of this kind. It is proposed, in the prospectus, that "an Insectarium should be built in Sargent's Field adjoining Long Crouch Woods in that city, and, both for economic reasons in construction and heating, and for the convenient proximity of the necessary food-plants, it should be an annexe to the greenhouse to be erected there. Colonies of striking and curious insects, especially the Hymenoptera, or social insects, undergoing their transformations, might be exhibited in a small, single-storeyed structure of glass and iron, like an ordinary conservatory, with no more flooring than would be required for passageways between the plants and shrubs. Such a collection would be inexpensive and attractive, and, without in any way curtailing its public use, would afford ample opportunity for scientific

experimentation of an important kind. Pedigree-breeding, for instance, or breeding in constant temperatures, whether high, low, or average, might here be carried on upon a large scale. Indeed, the opportunities are so great that the choice of subjects would be difficult, so many would claim attention; and it would be quite possible to display a changing round of attractive and instructive sights from week to week throughout the year."

The Insect class, although as a whole purely terrestrial and ærial in their habits, contains some orders the members of which pass either the whole or a portion of their lives in water. With regard to these aquatic insects, it is proposed to form "an Insectarium in connection with the Boston Gardens, which would be furnished with aquaria, placed in the midst of suitable plants, and surrounded by ample cages of netting for the confinement and display of the adults after they have passed through their transformations and have begun to fly. This part of the exhibit could be made exceedingly instructive by means of a printed guide, explaining the transformations of the insects shown in the aquaria and cages."

The credit of establishing the first institution of this kind in England, belongs to the Zoological Society of London. This renowned body has founded, in its Gardens in Regent's Park, an Insectarium for the exhibition of various species of insects, spiders, &c., both living and defunct, in their different stages of existence, and, so far as practicable, accompanied with their natural surroundings. The institution is located in a building constructed of iron and glass, and standing on a sunny spot with a southern aspect. This building is situated near the base of Primrose Hill—a little to the south of the northern entrance of the Gardens—and is fitted up like a hot-house measuring about fifty feet by about twenty-five feet. "In the centre and at the ends of the house are placed some bananas and tree-ferns; and by means of heating apparatus a temperature of from seventy to seventy-five degrees Fahrenheit is maintained. The insects are kept in cases of wood and zinc, with glass sides and perforated zinc-tops, the average size of these receptacles being about two-and-a-half-feet in height, one-foot-and-a-half wide, and one foot deep. The bottom of each cage is filled with moss and sand, thus allowing the pupæ or chrysalides of such species as enter the ground to undergo their natural transformations. In some cases the caterpillars—or larvæ, as they are scientifically termed—are to be seen feeding, the food-plants being kept in small phials or tubes of water, or sometimes placed in the moist sand."

The collection, though not a very large one, is nevertheless representative of the various orders of the articulated animals, and contains rare and beautiful specimens from all parts of

the world. A range of cases on the south side is set apart for the exhibition of some of the finer species of Silk-producing Moths of the *Bombycidae*. Here are usually exhibited the Great Atlas Moth of India (*Attacus Atlas*), of a rich chocolate hue, with paler markings, and silvery transparent ocelli, together with its cocoons made of silk and dead leaves, in which the insects wrap themselves while becoming chrysalides; the Tusser Silk-Moth (*A. Mylitta*); the Ailanthus Silk-Moth (*A. Cynthia*) from China, of a tawny colour, with delicate pink and silvery markings and beautiful eye-like spots; the Japanese Oak Silk-Moth (*A. Japonicus*), Perny's Silk-Moth (*A. Pernyi*), both of which feed upon the leaves of the oak-tree (*Quercus robur*); the Cecropian Silk-Moth (*Samia Cecropia*), the caterpillars of which are of a brilliant green colour, with little fleshy tufts of red, blue and yellow, each surmounted by six black hairs; and many other species of silk-moths. The chrysalides and cocoons of most of these species, together with samples of the raw-silk they produce, are exhibited in the cases, along with the living imagos or perfect insects. Here are also to be seen the lovely and delicately-tinted Moon-Moths from India and North America, of a light green colour, which is, however, soon lost. Along the north side of the building are to be seen examples of some of the gorgeous members of the Heterocerous and Rhopalocerous Lepidoptera (Moths and Butterflies) peculiar to the fauna of Europe. The specimens to be usually seen on this side, are examples of different species of the Morpho Butterflies from South America, which 'measure about four or five inches across the wings,' and are of an exquisite blue satin colour with pearly bands of white; the swallow-tail Butterfly, the largest British species, found principally in the marshy tracts in and about Cambridge; the White Admiral from the New Forest; the Purple Emperor; and other species of the *Papilioninae*, or Swallow-tail butterflies. The members of the last-named group, ordinarily exhibited in this house, are various species of the genus *Papilio*, viz., *P. cresphontes*, *P. ajax* and *P. asterias* from the Northern parts of the American Continent, *P. alexanor* from the countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea, and the beautiful black and golden green *P. maackii* from Japan. Among the members of the other genera belonging to this group to be seen here are *Doritis apollina* from Asia Minor, the *Sericina telamon* from Japan, which varies much in coloration according to its sex, and the *Limenitis disippus* from North America. Among the Lepidoptera Heterocera exhibited here are to be usually seen specimens of different species of Tiger Moths in their various stages of metamorphosis, and, especially, of the Garden Tiger Moth (*Chelonia carya*); the Gold-tailed Moth, with wings of a pure

white, and a tuft of yellow-coloured hair at the end of the body; the Brindled Beauty Moth, of a dingy brown colour, with semi-transparent wings; the Vapourer Moth, of a rich chestnut-brown colour, with a white spot on each fore-wing; and the Goat Moth (*Cossus ligniperda*), which emits a very noxious odour and which is very destructive to trees. The *Sphingidæ*, or Sphinx-moths, are represented by examples of *Deilephila alecto* and *D. nice*, both from the Southern parts of Europe and both of which are noted for their superb powers of flight. On the middle table other cases are arranged, containing insects of many different orders. The *Hymenoptera* are usually represented by that curious insect the Ant-Lion and other species; and the *Arachnoidea* by examples of the common Trap-door Spider, with its nest, composed of earth and silk, in alternate layers, and other arachnoids, notable among them being the huge hairy *Mygalebrasiliensis* from South America and the *Tarantula maderiana* from the island of Madeira. The latter is allied to the famous Tarantula Spider of Italy, the bite of which was believed to have caused the dancing sickness—a sort of hysterical dancing maina, which appeared in an epidemic form in Italy during the 14th century, and spread all over the country, reaching its climax in the 17th century, after which it gradually disappeared, and which, it was formerly supposed even by such men as Pepys, the author of the well-known *Diary*, and Brookes, the author of a "*Natural History*," could be cured only by the soft, soothing influences of music. The fifth class of the order *Arachnoidea* has representatives in specimens of living scorpions which are occasionally exhibited here. The forms usually shown are the black thick-tailed Egyptian Scorpion, *Prionurus crassicauda*, from North Africa, the common *Buthus Europæus* from the Mediterranean littoral, and the small-tailed *Euscorpius spinic* from South Europe. The Ichneumon fly, which is very destructive to the *larvæ* of moths and butterflies, is also exhibited here. The *Orthoptera*, or praying insects, leaf insects and walking-sticks, which assume a variety of wonderful forms resembling leaves and dry twigs, are illustrated by specimens of *Diaphemara femorata*, the stick insect of North America and of *Empusa egea*, belonging to the family *Mantidæ*, from South Europe. The *Empusa* often assumes the form of an orchid, when hanging by its hind legs, head downwards, and moving to and fro as if blown by the wind. It catches passing flies in its powerful foreclaws, and hastily devours them. Among the aquatic insects exhibited in their native element are to be seen the beautiful but voracious Dytiscus Beetle; the Water Beetle (*Hydrons piceus*); the Dragon Fly; and the Caddisworm.

Another most interesting feature of this entomological exhibition is the inclusion therein of examples of that remarkable phenomenon of insect-life which is known to naturalists under the name of "Mimetic Analogy." Naturalists, notably Darwin, Bates, Wallace, Poulton, and others, observe that colouration of the exterior structures of animal organisms is of great physiological importance to them, and is, sometimes, of great use to them in aiding them in the struggle for existence, by deluding other members of the Animal Kingdom which prey upon them, or by aiding individuals of the same species, or by being intimately connected with animal courtship in attracting females of the same species. This relation of colouration to mimetic analogy also exists among that lowermost order of the Animal Kingdom known as Insecta. Many insects of different orders have been endowed by Nature with such hues as to make them closely resemble either surrounding objects, so as to render them imperceptible to their natural enemies, or other members of the same genus possessed of protective attributes.

This mimetic analogy among insects assumes four forms, *viz.*, (a) Protective and Aggressive Resemblance; (b) Protective and Aggressive Mimicry; (c) Warning Colours; (d) Colouration of Animal Courtship. Insects are often possessed of such colours that they look very like the objects upon which they live, move and have their being. Some members of the *Geometræ* are examples of protective resemblance; for, when resting upon their favourite food-plants, they very often look exactly like the shoots or catkins of trees, or like lichens.

Mr. Thomas Belt, in his delightful work entitled "*The Naturalist in Nicaragua*," observes that "amongst the insects of Chontales none are more worthy of notice than the many curious species of Orthoptera that look like green and faded leaves of trees. I have already described one species that resembles a green leaf, and so much so that it even deceived the acute senses of the foraging ants; other species, belonging to a closely-related genus (*Pterochroza*), imitate leaves in every stage of decay, some being faded green blotched with yellow. The *larvæ* of a species of *Phasma* resembled pieces of moss, amongst which they concealed themselves in the day-time, and were not to be distinguished except when accidentally shaken out. Other species resemble a brown withered leaf, the resemblance being increased by a transparent hole through both wings that looks like a piece taken out of the leaf. In many butterflies that resemble leaves on the underside of their wings, the wings being raised and closed together when at rest, so as to hide the bright colours of the upper surface, there are similar transparent spots that imitate holes; and others again are jagged at the edge, as if pieces had been taken out of them."

Examples of Aggressive Resemblance are to be found in the predatory insects of the genus *Mantis*, which are so coloured as to prevent them from being detected by those upon which they prey.

Protective and Aggressive Mimicry does not require much consideration, for it is but a special example of Protective and Aggressive Resemblance.

The next form is that of Warning Colours. Some insects mimic forms which have some kind of defence against insectivorous mammals, or birds, in being possessed of stings or unpleasant odours or flavours, or in being exceedingly swift of flight. Some butterflies and moths assimilate themselves, both in form and colour, to the butterflies of the family *Heliconiidae*, because they are rejected by some birds. Some beetles, especially of the genus *Calopteron*, imitate those belonging to the family *Lampyridae*, which are exceedingly distasteful to those birds and mammals which feed upon insects. Some insects, as the males of the mimetic *Leptalides*, attract the females of that species by the brilliant black, red and yellow colouration of their wings. Examples of the different forms of mimetic resemblance among insects described above are exhibited here. Among those usually represented may be mentioned the Lappet Moth (*Bombyx quercifolia*), which assimilates itself in colouring to dead leaves, and the larvæ of the Emperor Moth, which are of a bright green colour, with raised pink dots, surrounded by black rings.

It will be thus seen that collections of living insects, like those of defunct ones, are of great use in furthering the study of scientific and economic, or applied, entomology.

From a biological point of view, much may be learnt about the classification, the structure, the habits, &c., of insects from the living specimens in an Insectarium; while from an agricultural point of view, much information may be gleaned from such collections by agriculturists and horticulturists regarding the life-histories of insects which are destructive to farm and garden produce, as well as of those which directly minister to the necessities of human kind.

Applied, or Economic, Entomology treats of insects, which may be divided into six groups, according to their destructive propensities in injuring articles of economic importance to man, and to their beneficial habits to mankind. These six groups are: *first*, insects which are directly injurious to man, such as the human parasites, entozoa, &c., the study of which is the province of medical science; *second*, those which attack domestic animals—a group, the consideration of which is restricted to veterinary medicine; *third*, those which attack and destroy cultivated plants—a group including the greater portion of the

insect-pests, the study of which, along with that of the fifth group, is mainly the object of economic or applied entomology ; *fourth*, those which destroy other property, such as furs, woollen goods, books and food-stuffs ; *fifth*, those which are directly beneficial to man by supplying him with stuffs for his food and raiment, such as the bee and the silk-worm ; *sixth*, those which are indirectly beneficial to man, by destroying other insects.

Thus it would appear that living collections of invertebrate animals, like those contained in the London Zoological Gardens, may be an important factor in enlightening laymen regarding the first principles of economic entomology. Farmers and horticulturists, who annually sustain great losses from the ravages wrought on crops, fruits and flowers, by numerous insect pests in their fields and gardens, may profit by the inspection of living specimens, and by observation of their modes of propagation, so that they may be able to adopt effective steps for their extermination. For the last few years, the importance of the study has been recognized, and, in almost every civilized country on the Globe, quite a rage for it has set in. Economic entomology may be said to be on the eve of a great advance ; for, in almost every part of the world, a great mass of information regarding insects of economic importance is being gathered by savants and by scientific agriculturists.

In France (where the importance of these investigations has been recognized since the *phylloxera* began to commit sad havoc among the vines, and the wine-industry of the country was seriously threatened), Italy and the United States, savants have taken in right earnest to the study of both the noxious and the beneficial insects of their respective countries. The interests of sericulture and agriculture are being greatly advanced by the introduction of new strains of silk-worms and bees ; while those of agriculture, viticulture, pomiculture and arboriculture are being protected by the observation of the life-histories of injurious parasites and insects which attack and destroy the crops, vines, fruits and timber-trees. In Italy and the United States, numerous experimental stations have been opened all over the country, for the purpose of investigating the injurious insects of these countries, and have been placed under the direction of eminent specialists in the branch of entomology. In England, though no such institutions have been opened for the study of the living insects, yet collections of dead specimens exemplifying both the insect pests, and the methods which have been found efficacious in preventing their attacks, have been established in connection with the Museums at Exeter and Bethnal Green in London.

In this country, too, the study of economic entomology has

been taken up in right earnest under the auspices of the Government of India. The Indian Museum, in Calcutta, however, is, as yet, the only place where it is being prosecuted, and most of the information extant regarding Indian insect pests is the result of researches carried on in its laboratory. Popular lectures on economic entomology are being delivered. It is only the other day that Mr. Cotes, of the Indian Museum, delivered, at the instance of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, a popular but very interesting lecture (illustrated with diagrams and magic lantern slides upon the various insect pests of this country, before a select audience at the Metcalfe Hall. To the students of the Forest School at Dehra Dun, a course of lectures on agricultural entomology is delivered annually by the same gentleman, whose services are lent to that institution by the Trustees of the Indian Museum for two months in the year.

It will thus be seen that a fair start has already been made in the study and popularization of economic or agricultural entomology, which, in the course of a few years, promises to be productive of very beneficial results both to the Indian Agriculturist and to the Indian Exchequer.

With regard to the work done in the Indian Museum in 1889-90, the Trustees report that, "with regard to the study of economic entomology, a very large number of references, dealing with a variety of insect pests, have been received from both official and non-official sources in all parts of India. In connection with this work four pamphlets have been published during the year, as Nos. 1-4 of '*Indian Museum Notes*,' which have taken the place of the '*Notes on Economic Entomology*' of previous years. Nos. 1, 2, and 4 deal mainly with various insects injurious to agriculture, ; while No. 3 contains a convenient resumé of existing literature on Indian silk-worms, with the addition of some useful notes. The publication is edited by Mr. E. C. Cotes, who has himself compiled several of the larger papers, including this one, on silk-worms. An exhaustive enquiry on the subject of locusts in India has also been instituted and two preliminary reports issued."

In Southern India, also, insects of economic importance are being collected for the purposes of study in the Government Central Museum at Madras. Those which are found to be destructive to crops are, it appears, forwarded to the Central Entomological Laboratory at Calcutta, for it is reported that "specimens of insects destructive to crops were received, from time to time, from various districts of the Presidency, and sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for identification." Insects which commit ravages on forest-trees are collected by the Madras Museum and forwarded to the Forest-School at Dehra Dun.

Thus much is being done with a view of working out the economic entomology of the Southern Presidency.

So far as the popularisation of the study of this branch of entomology is concerned, it may be noted here that steps are being taken in almost every Presidency of India for the exhibition of collections of Indian sericulture, which shall illustrate, in a typical form, the different metamorphoses of the silk-worm.

In Europe and America, insectaria have turned out great successes, as is testified to by the number of visitors who daily resort to the Insectarium, or Insect-house, in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London, and by the interest they evince in it.

Though collections of dried insects are exhibited in almost every museum in India, the exhibition of collections of living entomological specimens is a rarity in this country. Many living insects are sent from various parts of the country to the Indian Museum at Calcutta for identification. Eggs, pupæ, &c., of others are also transmitted to that institution, from which imagos, or perfect insects, are sometimes bred. But these specimens are not exhibited, as forming part and parcel of the regular entomological collections lodged in that institution.

An Insectarium, containing a collection of living insects of various orders, and other invertebrate animals, is a desideratum in this country, and an institution of this kind would, I am sure, prove very popular in Calcutta. I have elsewhere, on more than one occasion, shown that the people of India evince an intelligent interest in collections of Natural History specimens, and that they can be made to learn something about the elementary principles of the science if the remarkable objects in these collections are explained to them by competent guides. There is already in their minds a crude sort of taste for Natural History curiosities, and it is time that an attempt should be made to foster it. Such an institution as an Insectarium would prove a source of endless interest, not only to the natives of India but also to Europeans in this country.

There arises the question where the proposed Insectarium should be located. I am of opinion that such an institution would form a suitable annexe to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. An Insectarium, an Aquarium, and a properly-constructed and properly-equipped Reptileum, are three of the most urgent desiderata of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. I am pretty sure, that it would prove one of the most interesting sights of the Calcutta Zoo, and would add greatly to the already many attractions of the Gardens. There is still ample space left unoccupied in the Gardens for the building of an Insect-house. For the present, a representative collection, on a small scale, might be made, and exhibited in a house in some sunny spot in

the Gardens ; but, as soon as funds were forthcoming, an Insectarium on a grand scale, might be built and furnished with the requisite appliances.

Next arises the question whence the specimens of living insects, to be exhibited in the projected Insectarium in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, are to come. The answer to this question is a simple one ; for the invertebrate fauna of India is so very rich and varied that there can be no difficulty in procuring living specimens. A tree, or a flowering shrub, is the favourite trysting-place of many species ; while tanks and jheels are the homes of many aquatic ones.

It would be an interesting task to calculate the number of the species of insects which are included in the entomological fauna of a particular piece of land, or a garden plot, in this country. To take a particular example, the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, in which the establishment of an Insectarium is advocated in these pages, are a veritable entomologist's paradise ; for the trees and shrubs in them are the haunts of many interesting species, and the lakes and serpentine tank abound with a variety of aquatic forms. In countries like England, where, owing to the coldness of the climate, insect-life is very scarce during the greater part of the year, and where collections of living insects require to be protected from the stress of the weather under adequate shelter, and by the maintenance of a constant temperature, such institutions cost a good deal for their up-keep.

There is another source which may be drawn upon for a plentiful supply of living specimens. The authorities of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, every year depute native insect-collectors to all parts of India and to distant countries, for the purpose of making entomological collections. Under an arrangement with the officers of that institution, instructions might be issued to these native entomologists to collect living insects and to forward them to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. On the other hand, the Government might be requested to issue a circular, as has been done on many previous occasions, to District officials, asking them to transmit living specimens of such insects as are peculiar to their respective districts. I am confident, too, that the public would liberally contribute specimens should they come to know that an Insectarium is about to be opened in the Calcutta Zoo ; for it appears from the lists of animals appended to the published reports of the Gardens that specimens of leaf-insects and crustaceans have, from time to time, been presented to the institution. It is only on account of the want of proper accommodation in the Gardens for the exhibition of insects that the public have hitherto refrained from liberally contributing such specimens.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ART. XIII.—POLYGAMY AMONG THE JEWS.

“THE conception of a love-match,” says Charles Kingsley, “belongs to our Teutonic race, and was our heritage (so Tacitus says with awe and astonishment) when we were heathens in the German forests. You will find nothing of it in Scripture after the first chapter of Genesis, save a glimpse thereof in St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians.”

How pleasant to contemplate our own virtues and our superiority to the rest of mankind! Only there is danger, as in the case of the Rev. Charles Kingsley, that we may, in so doing, be guilty of gross injustice to others. One is simply astounded to hear a clergyman of the Church of England say that nothing of a love-match can be found in Scripture after the first chapter of Genesis.

Was not Jacob’s union with Rachel a love-match? It was not a “falling into love,” such as is seen every day, followed, in ninety cases out of a hundred, by “falling out” of it again. Yet no evidence of genuine affection can exceed the significant and touching record: “And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her.” Here were deeds, not words; service, not protestations. And when deceived, as he was by Laban, into marriage with the other sister, Jacob quietly accepted another seven years’ service—making fourteen years in all,—for the object of his affection.

Without any of the meretricious pomp or ceremony of weddings in later ages, the quiet union of Rachel with Jacob can hardly be regarded in any other light than a love-match, and a case too, apparently, of love at first sight. “And he loved her and Isaac was comforted after his mother’s death.” The married life of Isaac and Rebecca is referred to in the marriage service of the Church of England as a pattern for any other married couple. We need do no more than mention Abraham and Sarah whose union was undoubtedly an example of a love-match, and we have the list of Patriarchs complete.

It may not be irrelevant, or out of place here, to show that the conception of a love-match had grown among the people of Israel to such a degree as to form the ground-work of that much misunderstood and long disputed Book of Canticles which Cannon Farrar regards as “not intentionally a religious poem; but a very lovely song of innocent love.” “If modern views of it are correct,” he says, “and they are accepted by an increased number of the most eminent critics; it tells us in dramatic form the story of how a pure love in humble life

triumphed over the splendid seductions of a royal wooer."* We give the story itself, as an illustration of the fact that, in spite of the polygamous Court of Solomon, the humbler classes of the people could yet cherish more elevated and purer conceptions of true love: "A maiden of Shulam, or Shunem, has given her whole heart to a young shepherd whom she has seen while he feeds his flock among the lilies. One day, as Solomon is making one of his progresses northward to some cool summer residence on the slopes of Lebanon, he sees the beautiful virgin, and takes her to Jerusalem, hoping that, amid the fascination of unaccustomed luxuries, she may forget her shepherd-lover and become one of the royal harem. But there, though all admire her matchless perfection, nothing can win her heart, or induce her willingly to exchange her humble home among the orchards and vineyards of the north for the pleasures and blandishments of the great king. Meanwhile the youth, to whom she is betrothed, has followed her to the palace, and receives from her own lips the assurance of her unalterable love. Feeling that he will not succeed in winning her heart, Solomon magnanimously resigns her, in all her simple innocence and virtue, to him whom she has chosen; and the lovers, as they return together hand in hand, express, in the language of metaphor, the happy conviction of their hearts, 'that the true love of one simple home is better than all the costly, but unblessed, enjoyments of a king's seraglio.'"

In dealing with the subject of polygamy among the Jews, it is desirable first of all to clear the ground by the removal of the term "concubine," so recklessly used in our authorized version as the meaning of the Hebrew word (פִּלְגֶּשׁ) (*Pee-leh-gesh*). The English term is nearly equivalent to *mistress*, and carries in it the suggestion of a temporary connection, dissoluble at the will of the man. Nothing could be further from the meaning of the Hebrew term, which pointed to a union for life. The *pee-leh-gesh* was merely a slave-wife. "Concubines," says Jahn in his *Biblical Antiquities* " (some of whom had previously acted in the humble capacity of maid-servants and others were females who had possessed their freedom), were sometimes permanently associated, by mutual consent, with individuals of the other sex; but although this connexion was, in fact, a *marriage*, and a *legitimate* one, it was not nevertheless celebrated and confirmed by the ceremonies above related"—*viz.*, a procession, feasting, &c.,—the examples given being Gen. XXIV., 60, and Ruth IV., 11, 12. The absence of the ceremonies referred to marked the lower social position of the *pee-leh-gesh*; but her *legal* status

* See *Solomon: His Life and Times*. By Archdeacon Farrar.

was nothing less than that of a wife. The qualifying phrase used by Jahn, "sometimes permanently associated," is not warranted by the case cited by him from Exodus XXI., 10 to 13, where a beautiful woman, taken captive, happened to take the fancy of an Israelite. For the term used is 'wife'—"thou wouldst have her to thy wife," and "thou shalt be her husband and she shall be thy wife."

We have not found a single instance in all Jewish history of a *pee-leh-gesh* being regarded as a mere mistress, or as anything less than a wife; that is to say, as united to her partner by a *life-long union*, treated as legitimate by society, and recognized by the law. This is strikingly obvious from the injunction in Exodus XXI., 10, to which, however, we shall have to refer later on. To this may be added the fact that Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, is called by the Prophet Isaiah "the married wife" (Isa. LXIV., 1.), and the dishonoured concubines of David who were set apart, are said, in their separation, to be in a state of "widowhood."

That the offspring of such unions were legitimate, follows as a necessary consequence from the legal status of the *pee-leh-gesh*. And if confirmation were needed, we have a conspicuous example in the case of the twelve Patriarchs, all of whom were regarded as on a footing of perfect equality as the sons of Jacob, and equally heads of the twelve tribes of Israel; no distinction being made between the children of Rachel and Leah on the one hand and those of Zilpah and Bilha on the other.

It is not without interest to consider the attitude of the Jewish legislator in respect of the whole subject of marriage. We fear that Moses has had but scant justice done him in the matter, especially in regard to polygamy. We have tried, and we think successfully, to show that what is known in modern times as concubinage was unknown to the Mosaic legislation, or the practice of the Jewish people. And before proceeding further with the subject, we would remind our readers that the highest type of marriage, even as reluctantly acknowledged by Cannon Kingsley, is to be first found in the first chapter of Genesis. The founder of Christianity himself added nothing to it, although he enforced it and pointed out its implied obligations.

The problem before Moses was how to apply this highest type of the conjugal union to a people who had for ages been familiar with laxer notions of the relationship. One feature of the law on which Christ dwelt with peculiar emphasis, *viz.*, the indissolubleness of marriage, Moses refrained from enforcing. Nor did Christ condemn the great legislator for this moderation. "Moses," he said, "because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so." To have enforced the stringency of the

original law on persons who chafed under the yoke, would have worked much unhappiness, especially to the unoffending party, to whom, he judged, it would be a lighter evil to be put away than to remain where her presence was already distasteful and would become daily more intolerable. Accordingly, while Moses marked his sense of the purity which should exist in the mutual relation of the sexes by penalties severe enough even for the rough fashion of those times, as, for example, by making *rape* a capital offence (Deut. XXII., 25), and providing that the seducer should be compelled to marry his victim, paying the full dowry demandable by the wife's father (Deut. XXII. 28, 29), and putting both adulterer and adulteress to death (Deut. XXII., 22), he permitted facilities for divorce, and tolerated polygamy. These two relaxations of the rigid law of the Paradisaic state would not, perhaps, have been called for, but for the stringent provisions we have already noticed : in any case they must not be viewed as standing alone, but as a relief to an environment of severe conditions.

Our present business, however, is rather with polygamy than divorce ; and we ought, in justice to the Jewish legislator, to remember that he could hardly have put down that which had been practised by the Patriarchs themselves. That it was practised by Israel in Egypt has been inferred "from the fact that the first-born of 603,550 men above 20 years of age amounted merely to the number of 22,373" (Num. III., 42)* Accordingly Moses did not see his way absolutely to prohibit polygamy. Yet it is most interesting to see the various methods by which he endeavoured to moderate its evils ; and so to girdle the Upas tree that it could not flourish and extend.

It will be readily admitted that restraint on our liberty, being in itself an evil, should be imposed by the legislature only on harmful practices, and on them only where experience has demonstrated their harmfulness. It was notorious that one of the Patriarchs had been the cause of much domestic misery through having married two sisters. Accordingly Moses, with his usual sagacity, enacted the provision : "Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her beside the other in her lifetime" (Lev. XVIII., 18).

While, however, the Mosaic law did not absolutely forbid polygamy, it did not accord perfect liberty to the practice of it. The wise legislator conditioned it after a fashion which, in many cases, would prove an insuperable obstacle, and would be construed by conscientious men as a decided prohibition : "If he take him another wife, her food (that is the food of the first

* Jahn's *Biblical Antiquities*, Ch. X., s. 151.

wife), her raiment and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish." The significance of this is too striking to be overlooked; and when we consider that it was said of a slave-wife, a bondswoman like Hagar, its force can hardly be over-rated. No pretext is allowed to interfere with the full, legal and conjugal rights of the wife even of low degree. On his failure to discharge any of these obligations—"if he do not these three unto her,"—she might go out free without money.

As polygamy in any country and in any age is at best an expensive luxury, it does not appear to have been practised among the masses, or, as far as we are aware, to have been general even among the well-to-do classes. It seems to have been regarded by the Jews, as among other Oriental races, as one of the privileges of royalty. But the far-seeing legislation of Moses did not fail to perceive and provide against this tendency: "When thou shalt come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee and shalt possess it and shalt dwell therein and shall say 'I will set a king over me' (Deut. XVII.), then they might do so, but rules of conduct were laid down for his guidance among which was this one: "Neither shall he multiply wives to himself that his heart turn not away."

And though this injunction was disregarded by many of the kings, and conspicuously by Solomon, there is reason to believe that the number of wives (300) and "concubines" (700) allotted to him in one version is exaggerated. For the record in the historical part of the Old Testament is contradicted in Canticles (VI., 8), where the number in each of the two classes is given as respectively sixty and eighty. The text in I Rev. XI. is supposed, and it would seem with reason, to be a corruption. "The largest harem," says Farrar, "of which we read, either in ancient or modern days, was that of Darius Codomanus, and of him we are only told that he had one wife and 329 concubines. It is hard to suppose that the Canaanite and surrounding tribes could have furnished seven hundred 'princesses,' and still harder to imagine how Solomon's palace, had its dimensions been tenfold greater than they were, could have found room in the women's apartments for a harem of one thousand, with their very numerous necessary attendants."

It is impossible to close the subject without allusion to what may, perhaps, be regarded as the strongest reason for Moses tolerating polygamy, namely, the prevention of the far greater evil which has obtained for itself in Western lands the name of "the social evil." Prostitution among the Patriarchs was punishable with death. By the law of Moses a priest's daughter found unchaste was to be "burnt with fire," and the lot of any woman, discovered after marriage to have deceived

her husband as to her virginity, was to be stoned to death. It was sought thus to tread-down and trample-out the evil in question by these Draconic provisions. They seem to have been effectual, except where the kings went into idolatry ; for the worship of idols was always accompanied by prostitution and the foulest licentiousness. Where, however, the law of Moses was observed, 'the social evil' seems to have been kept under to an extent not exemplified in any country in Christendom.

Accordingly modern Europe, before affecting to view with contempt polygamy as it existed among the Jews, is bound first to wipe out the plague-spot in her own social life. For the two evils cannot be compared. The degrading and corrupting influence of the Western evil on character and morals being infinitely worse,—a canker eating into the vitals of society whose touch is the extinction of domestic purity and of the home itself.

L.

THE QUARTER.

IF we rank the events of the past three months in the order of their importance to mankind at large, the failure of the harvest in France and Russia probably claims the first place.

As far as purely local interests are concerned, the deficiency in the former country, which, by the way, seems to have been somewhat exaggerated in the first instance, means merely a rise in the cost of the necessaries of life which all but the very poorest of the population can bear without much hardship. In Russia, on the other hand, where the deficiency is far more serious, and the normal standard of living is much lower, it means semi-starvation to multitudes.

In these days, however, the effects of such calamities spread in ever widening circles. Russia is the chief granary of Europe, and the effect of the failure on the price not merely of wheat throughout the civilized world, but on the prices of other cereals, and notably on that of rye in Germany, which, in ordinary seasons, imports considerable quantities of the grain from Russia, has been very marked. Fortunately America has been able to step in with the surplus of a bumper wheat crop, amounting, it is said, to 200 million bushels, to supply part of the deficiency, or the consequences would have been much more serious. As it is, prices in the English markets have risen by about fifteen per cent, and a stimulus has been given to the wheat trade of India, which has extended, for good or evil, to the remotest villages of the Panjab.

Next to the failure of the wheat harvest in Europe, the events of the quarter to which the most far-reaching significance attaches are, perhaps, the visit of the French fleet to Cronstadt and the serious anti-foreign riots in China.

The statement of M. Blowitz, that Admiral Gervais brought a draft treaty away with him from the Russian capital, is, no doubt, unfounded. Indeed, it has since been modified by M. Blowitz himself; but it seems to be admitted that the French admiral spent a suspiciously large portion of his time in consultation with the Russian ministers, and M. Blowitz's subsequent statement, that an understanding of importance was arrived at, is probably not very wide of the truth. When M. Blowitz further says that this understanding tends to the preservation of peace, he probably has in view the maxim: *Si vis pacem, para bellum*. This maxim, however, is far from

universally true ; and the conditions to which it is applicable have no existence in the case of either France or Russia, whom no one threatens, or is at all likely to threaten, in the absence of very strong provocation.

Whatever the understanding may have been, it has been followed by no relaxation of military preparations on the part of either of the Powers concerned. France is engaged in the execution of military manœuvres on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, in rather irritating proximity to the German Frontier ; and Russia is said to be massing extraordinary numbers of troops in the neighbourhood of Warsaw.

The renewed outrages against foreigners in China are of enormous importance, not only on account of the magnitude of the commercial and other interests immediately involved, but in view of the serious complications which may at any moment arise among the European Powers concerned, in connexion with the retaliatory, or remedial measures which they may be induced to adopt. So far, there appears to be a common understanding between England, France, Germany, Russia and America, and they are acting together. This they will very probably continue to do as long as the question is merely one of the immediate safety of their subjects in China, or of the exaction of penalties for what has occurred. But if, as is not at all unlikely to happen, the question should become one of taking guarantees for the future, there is grave risk of a conflict of interests arising and leading to international quarrels.

This risk is materially increased by the conviction which exists on all sides, and is, no doubt, well founded, that the extreme weakness and unpopularity of the Manchu Government at Peking, though not the primary cause of the outbreaks, is fatal to all chance of a reasonable degree of security being obtained for foreigners in China, without arrangements which would make prompt intervention in force on the part of the Powers chiefly concerned possible.

The difficulty is aggravated by the fact that a mere change of dynasty would probably make the position worse, instead of better. The proximate cause of the recent outrages is obscure, and it is possibly nothing more than a popular feeling that things generally are going wrong in the Empire ; but it is beyond doubt that the real root of the mischief lies in a belief deeply engrained in the minds of the Chinese, ignorant and learned alike, that the presence of the barbarian in the country is inevitably a source of evil to its inhabitants. This is a belief which no mere change of dynasty will materially affect, and the expression of which would probably find freer play under native Chinese, than under Manchu rulers.

Russia has very special and indisputable interests to protect

on the Northern frontiers of China ; and France would be only too glad of any opportunity of increasing her interests on its South-eastern border ; while England is so deeply concerned in the general trade of the Empire, that she would be bound to oppose any territorial or administrative change which would tend materially to increase the influence of either Power over its policy.

We are, in fact, confronted in Asia with something not unlike a repetition of the sick man problem of South-eastern Europe, with the difference that the enormous expanse of the territories and the unmanageable character of the population concerned ; render it vastly more difficult even to formulate a practicable solution.

As we have said, the Powers are so far acting together, in concert with America. A joint Note has been presented at Peking, demanding a heavy indemnity and the punishment, not only of the rioters, but of the officials who are known to have connived at the outrages. The most recent telegrams leave it doubtful what the reply of the Peking authorities, if they have made any reply, to this demand, has been, or what their action is likely to be. No doubt, if sufficient pressure is brought to bear upon them, they will pay the indemnity, and they will probably also make some show of punishing the offenders. But it is improbable that any action which they may take, or, indeed, which it is in their power to take, will have much effect on the attitude of the populace in the interior. Indeed, since the demands of the Powers were preferred, there has been a fresh outrage of a very serious character at Ichang, where the mob are reported to have attacked and destroyed the British Consulate.

Second only in importance to the failure of the harvest in some of the chief grain-producing countries of Europe, and, perhaps, not entirely unconnected with it, is the renewed and rapidly deepening depression of trade which has set in in England. During the month of July, it was sufficiently serious, and it appears to have been even more marked in August. The decline in the former month was chiefly in exports, being greatest in the case of cotton and woollen piece-goods and iron and steel manufactures, but imports were also affected. In August there has again been a falling off in the aggregate trade of over two millions, as compared with the same month of last year, bringing the total decrease for the first eight months of the year up to about eight millions sterling.

Statistics are not yet available which would enable us to say how far the depression is general, or to what extent it is confined to the United Kingdom. There are, however, grave reasons for thinking that the late spurt in British trade was a

mere flash in the pan, and that the reduction of England from an abnormal to a normal position, as a competitor for the trade of the world, is merely a question of time. As far as mere skill, or command of the materials and instruments of labour is concerned, she has long ceased to occupy a dominant position, and though the extent of her territorial possessions still confers a great advantage on her, even this is becoming daily of less importance; while it is largely counterbalanced by the higher standard of living and consequently higher wage rates of her labouring population, as well as by their comparative want of thrift.

The attempt of the Sultan to re-open negotiations with England for the evacuation of Egypt is not, probably, in itself, an event of much importance. It will not shorten by a single hour the length of the British occupation, which depends upon considerations quite independent of the wish of the Sultan in the matter, and it is, no doubt, regarded by the Sultan himself as little more than a formal protest intended to keep his claim alive in the eyes of the civilized world, and to save his dignity in those of his own subjects and of the faithful generally. Nevertheless it is an event which is not without significance, as a reminder of the continued existence of a question which, in certain contingencies, never very remote, may serve as a *casus belli* to any Power with a decent pretext for espousing the cause of Turkey against England. There have, of course, been the usual rumours, which are possibly not wholly without foundation, that the Sultan has acted at the instigation of France and Russia in the matter. But it does not therefore follow, and is not at all likely, that either of those Powers has any immediate intention of lending the Sultan more than diplomatic countenance.

The reply attributed to Lord Salisbury, that the changes which have occurred since the last negotiations on the subject necessitate his consulting his colleagues, which he cannot do till October, is a transparent subterfuge, and the report that relations between the two Powers are very strained in consequence of it, is hardly to be wondered at. Whether it is true or not, the Sultan is certainly in a vile humour, and has signalized his annoyance by dismissing his Grand Vizier and six of his Ministers. This, however, is attributed to independent causes.

The revolution in Chili, by which the despotic Government of President Balmacedas has been overthrown after a sanguinary struggle, is, perhaps, not an event of much interest to Indian readers, though, as it is of sufficient importance to influence the London stock exchange, it is not impossible that its consequences may be felt, unconsciously, even in the Burra Bazar.

The insurgents appear to have landed near Valparaiso on the 20th August, and, on the following day, a great battle, or what in Chili counts for a great battle, was fought before that city, the result being that, after a desperate struggle, in which some 3,000 combatants are said to have been killed or wounded, the insurgents succeeded in forcing the important pass of Aconcagua. Another battle was fought on Sunday the 23rd August, in which the insurgents were apparently repulsed. The subsequent course of events is somewhat obscure, the accounts of the fighting that have come to hand being of the most conflicting character. What is certain is that, on the 27th, the insurgents captured Valparaiso after five hours' fighting, in which five thousand were killed.

It appears that, on this occasion, the Government troops assumed the offensive, but were repulsed with heavy loss, including two of their generals and many officers, whereupon the troops went over bodily to the enemy. Santiago was subsequently surrendered to the victors without a struggle, and all opposition thereupon ceased.

According to the latest accounts Balmacedas succeeded in making good his escape, and, when last heard of, was crossing the Andes, and General Baguedano has been appointed to act temporarily as President.

If we except the blight which seems to have fallen upon business, and to which we have already referred, the course of events in England during the period under review has been unmarked by anything of a specially disturbing or sensational character. A certain amount of mild excitement of a pleasurable kind has been provided by the visit of the German Emperor, an event which has given occasion for a good deal of political speculation on the part of French and Russian journalists, but which, beyond furnishing an additional proof of what was already perfectly well known regarding the relations between the Courts of Berlin and St. James's, probably possesses little or no significance.

English readers need scarcely be told that the rumours about Great Britain having given her adherence to the Triple Alliance neither have, nor could possibly have, any foundation in fact. England and the Central Powers are, from the necessities of their position, equally interested in the preservation of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, and, beyond an exchange of views on this point, we may rest assured that no sort of understanding exists between them.

From a certain point of view, perhaps, greater political significance attaches to the more than cordial reception given to the French fleet on the occasion of its recent visit to British waters. The impression it must have made on the susceptible

French mind will, at all events, not be wholly without effect as a mollifying factor in the judgments regarding British feelings and motives that may be formed hereafter on the Gallic side of the Channel, though it would be unreasonable to expect that it will be very lasting, or that it will count for much in the scale against considerations of a more practical kind, or more deeply rooted sentiments.

The meeting of the Congress on Hygiene and Demography at Burlington House has proved an interesting feature in the London season, though it may be questioned whether it has added a single fact of importance to the sum of human knowledge, or will alter, by the smallest fraction of a point, the course of human progress. An immense deal, of varying degrees of merit, was read and spoken on a bewildering multitude of topics, the general impression produced being that medical science is in a stage of transition, likely sooner or later to necessitate a complete re-orientation, and that Demography stands sadly in need of definition to make it a fit subject of deliberation for a Congress of any sort.

The probability of gatherings of this kind leading to practical results would be much greater than it is, if at least a considerable proportion of their time were devoted to the discussion of definite questions, set out and notified before hand.

The proceedings of the British Association opened at Cardiff on the 19th August, under the presidentship of Dr. Huggins, the well-known astronomer and spectroscopist. His address on the occasion was confined to a review of the history of astronomy since the application to it of the entirely new methods of investigation which the discoveries of spectrum analysis have placed at the disposal of the observer; and the general result of which is that much the same remark is applicable to the science which we have just made regarding that of medicine. The one grand fact which, beyond all others, stands out, as the result of recent enquiries, is that the matter of which the stellar systems are composed, and which appears to be diffused universally through space, is similar to, if not identical with, that which composes our own earth.

Dr. Huggins' address was distinguished throughout by its extremely cautious tone and by an entire absence of any attempt to theorise or to descend to *ad captandum* methods of exposition.

The Labour Commission has been busy taking evidence during the quarter, and seems in danger of being crushed beneath the weight of the materials it is collecting; and the news is just to hand that the Congress of Trades Unions, which is sitting at Newcastle, has decided by a large majority in favour of an Eight Hours' Bill, and of summoning an International

Conference to secure the adoption of such a measure in every country.

Parliament was prorogued on the 5th ultimo, after a session which was remarkable for the importance rather than the multiplicity of the measures passed in it. If the promise of its earlier months was not completely fulfilled, a great deal was done before its close to recover the ground lost, through sheer lack of energy on the part of the Government, during the middle period of its existence. It would have been no small triumph, under ordinary circumstances, as things Parliamentary go now-a-days, to have passed three such highly contentious measures as the Free Education Bill, the Irish Land Bill and the Tithes Bill. But the circumstances were not ordinary, and it must be admitted that the Ministry owe their success quite as much to good fortune, as to any skill or vigour displayed by them.

The frail fair one whose fate it was, without malice aforethought, to break up the Irish party, has proved their most effective ally, and even the influenza has stood them in good stead. At the same time it may be doubted whether victory would have been quite so easy for them, had not Mr. Balfour's vigorous management of Irish affairs, cut the ground from beneath the feet of their enemies. The League has, in fact, fairly thrown up the sponge, and for the moment the game of the agitator in Ireland has ceased to be worth the candle.

The Land Bill, on the whole, seems a workmanlike measure, and probably affords about as unobjectionable a solution of a well-nigh insoluble problem as could be hoped for. The Tithes Bill is, no doubt, a half-measure, or, perhaps, only a quarter-measure, where thoroughness would have meant failure. As for the Free Education Bill, it has brought down upon the Government the curses of their friends without winning for them the gratitude of those whom it was intended especially to serve. As far as voting strength in the country is concerned, its result, there is reason to apprehend, has been pure loss.

Had the money devoted to this wholly thankless purpose been applied to a reduction of the Income-tax, the prospects of the party for the approaching general election would, in all likelihood, have been very much brighter than they are.

The Indian Budget was introduced to an almost empty house, on the last evening of the session, with a rose-coloured speech from Sir John Gorst, and served as the occasion for a more than usually irrelevant and barren discussion. Sir John Gorst's statement was little more than a rechauffé of the leading points in that of Sir David Barbour, with the Financial Member's not altogether prudent remarks on the Exchange question left out.

On the motion to go into Committee Mr. Provand favoured what remained of the House with a denunciation of the Indian

factory system, the general quality of which may be estimated from his statement that a girl of fifteen in India is physically equal to a girl of eleven in England. There is a sense, no doubt, in which that is true, but it is not the sense in which Mr. Provand meant it to be understood, and in which it is absolutely untrue. Mr. Provand, however, was good enough not to move the Resolution of which he had given notice, that "further reforms are necessary in the laws of India dealing with native labour in factories and workshops."

Mr. S. Smith appeared to agree generally with Mr. Provand in his view of the Indian factory system, which he declared to be disgraceful to a Christian nation, but counselled great deliberation and care in forcing crude and hasty legislation down the throats of the Local Government. Sir G. Campbell defended the factories, and, though not in so many words, declared Mr. Provand's picture to be the creation of a heated and not disinterested imagination, and the matter dropped, to give place to a display of somewhat damp fireworks on the part of Mr. Maclean, in the shape of a motion, "that, in the opinion of this House, the present relations between India and Afghanistan are of an unsatisfactory character; and that, in the interests of the trade of both countries, it is desirable to extend the Indian railway system as far as Candahar." This drew some half-sympathetic, half-deprecatory remarks from Sir Richard Temple, afforded Sir John Gorst an opportunity of virtuously repudiating the idea that anything would induce the Government of India to encroach upon the independence of its neighbours without provocation, and was negatived without a division.

On the report of the Indian revenue accounts, the following day, Mr. M'Laren enquired after the Councils Bill, and expressed a hope that, when it was next brought forward, something would be done for elective representation on the Councils. Mr. Morton went through the formality of a protest against the lateness with which the Indian Budget had been introduced. Sir J. Gorst, in reply, laid the blame for the miscarriage of the Councils Bill on the honourable member for Crewe and his friends, adding roundly that the Government had no time for the discussion of such great constitutional reforms as that involved in the introduction of a representative element into the Councils; and Mr. Atkinson made the most sensible remark of the sitting, to the effect that if statesmen would but refrain from stumping India for the purpose of persuading the people that they were badly treated, there would be some chance of our doing the country some good.

In India, such interest as attaches to the history of the past three months is concerned chiefly with questions of Law and

Justice, and in this connexion the most striking event of the period is the prosecution of the *Bangobasi*, a Bengalee daily journal which can boast of the largest circulation in the province, for seditious libel, under section 124 of the Penal Code.

The prosecution, which has not been undertaken hastily, or without strong provocation, raises a two-fold doubt: Is the language on which the charge is founded, punishable under the existing law? and, if it is punishable, is it worth punishing?

The first of these questions is one for the lawyers, and, as it is still *sub judice*, we shall say nothing about it, except that it seems to us even more doubtful than the division on the subject among the jury which sat in the late abortive trial, might be held to imply. As to the second question, we have no hesitation in answering it in the affirmative. It is urged on the other side, that the language of the articles is so extravagant, that it may be safely left to the reader to supply the antidote from his own common-sense. That, however, is to attribute to the average Bengalee reader a knowledge far in advance of his opportunities and a calmness of judgment foreign to his temper, and, indeed, to the temper of the uneducated masses in most countries. The conductors of the *Bangobasi* probably know their public a great deal better than the critics in question do; and the popularity of their journal justifies their estimate of its proclivities.

We have no doubt whatever, that, whether it amounts to seditious libel or not, the language of the articles is potent for mischief of a kind quite serious enough to call for prevention, provided that it can be prevented without opening a wide door for evils of a still more serious kind.

Should the prosecution fail, it will become a question whether the definition of seditious libel ought not to be amended, so as to remove all doubt about the publication of matter such as that contained in the articles being a criminal offence. It might seem to follow, that, in admitting that such language is worth punishing, we have by implication answered this question in the affirmative. This, however, by no means follows; for it seems to us extremely doubtful whether it would be possible to widen the existing definition without seriously jeopardizing the independence of the press.

The final orders of the Government of India in the cases of the Manipur prisoners were published on the 10th ultimo. The sentences of death passed against the Senapati and the Tongal General were confirmed. Those against the Regent and Angao Sena were commuted to transportation for life and forfeiture of property; while the subordinate offenders were ordered to be transported during the Queen's pleasure.

It will, perhaps, be generally felt, that however much the mode of trial may have violated British notions of procedure, substantial justice has been done. In the case of the Tongal General this view is hardly open to question. His guilt was established beyond reasonable doubt, and there was nothing worthy of a moment's consideration to be urged in his favour. In the case of the Senapati, on the other hand, a critical examination of the evidence discloses an element of grave doubt.

That he was guilty of waging war against the Queen, is, indeed, abundantly proved ; but the conclusion that he was accessory to the murder of the British officers rests entirely upon circumstantial evidence, and that of, by no means, the most convincing character. Not only is there no evidence whatever of his having actually sanctioned the murders, but the only positive evidence on the subject is that, up to a certain point, he refused to sanction them. Beyond that point, all that is in evidence is, that he had a further interview with the Tongal General—and even on this head there is a conflict of testimony ; that he then retired, and that, after he had disappeared from the scene, the Tongal General ordered the prisoners to be executed. As to what passed at his second interview with the Tongal General—assuming such an interview to have taken place,—nothing is known ; and it is inferred that he must have either withdrawn his prohibition, or at least tacitly acquiesced in the executions, merely because he did not interfere to prevent them.

If it were certain that he knew that the executions were taking place, or were likely to take place, this would be a legitimate inference. But the conclusion that he knew this is, in its turn, merely an inference,—based upon an estimate of probabilities which may very well be erroneous.

His own account of the matter is, that his last instructions on the subject were to safeguard the prisoners and that, being exhausted, he then went to sleep ; and though it is argued, with some plausibility, that it was improbable that he would, or could, have gone to sleep in the midst of so much tumult and excitement, unless he had been indifferent to the fate of the prisoners, or content to let the Tongal General have his own way with them ; it is, on the other hand, readily conceivable that he may have been really worn out with the fatigues of the day, and that he had sufficient faith in his own authority to believe that the prisoners were safe.

The executions took place on 13th August, and are said to have excited little interest among the inhabitants of Manipur.

It has since been announced that Her Majesty has been pleased to forego her right to annex the territories of the

Manipur State, and it is understood that a ruler will be selected from among the late reigning family.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the names of Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, the most distinguished archæologist and man of letters Bengal has produced, and Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the eminent Sanskrit scholar and accomplished Bengalee writer, whose learning was equalled by his philanthropy, and who played a most important part in the laying of the foundations of literary Bengalee.

10th September 1891.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Administration Report on the Jails of Bengal for the year 1890.

TWENTY-TWO JAILS in Bengal show, in last year's Return, an increase in the number of prisoners admitted, twenty-two a decrease. The decrease, we are told, "chiefly occurs in districts which were affected by scarcity," and, is attributed to "better" harvests.

We find no reason to doubt the statement that, among the districts showing a large increase in the number of admissions to Jail, Jessore and Nuddea were prominent. But the explanation given is open to criticism. Disputes about indigo lands may, as is suggested, account for the increase in Jessore; but they ought not to be held accountable also for a larger number of *burglary* cases in Nuddea.

When one man has to write a Report on Jails, and another man to work up this material into a Resolution, why cannot both of them stick to their subject, discourse of prisons and prison administration, and leave alien theories and surmisings to be dealt with by the Police authorities? Division of labour is a recognized and ordinarily received politico-economical canon.

The total number of convicts despatched from Alipore for transportation to the Andamans fell from 829 in the previous year to 686, in consequence, it is supposed, of the closure by the Government of India of Port Blair as a penal settlement for long term convicts not of Burmese nationality.

Burman convicts are depicted as unruly, and are evidently beyond the pale of a Bengal Jailor's faculties for management; moreover in Bengal Jails they lose weight. So the Inspector-General of Jails suggests their re-transference to their native heaths, since room cannot be made for them at the Andamans save by exclusion therefrom of less self-assertive criminals. There were in Jail, last year, in Bengal, 3 per cent more Hindus and 3 per cent. fewer Mahomedans than in 1889. More pertinent, perhaps, is the information that the number of juvenile prisoners diminished by sixty and that the Reformatory Schools at Alipore and Hazaribagh continue to do abidingly good work. It is noteworthy that "the necessary apparatus for experiments in anthropometry at the Presidency Jail, for the purpose of recognizing old criminals, has

been lately received, and Civil Hospital Assistant Kumud Behari Samanta, who was assistant to Mr. H. H. Risley, C.S., during his experiments, has been deputed to instruct the Jail officials in the use of the instruments. The number of persons imprisoned in default of giving security for good behaviour has steadily increased from 556 in 1884 to 1,303 in 1890. Of the prisoners admitted during the year, 86·69 per cent. were unable to read and write, 9·80 per cent. were able to read and write a little, and 3·51 per cent. were able to read and write well."

The average period of detention of under-trial prisoners was 45·58 days in Session's cases and 13·28 days in others. It is more than high time that some remedy should be devised for cases of such grave injustice and hardship; we are glad to note that Sir Charles Elliott is sensible of the necessity for reform.

Another scandal noticed by His Honor is the cost of Jail Establishments, which in this Presidency amounts to Rs. 25·10 per prisoner, though in the neighbouring North-West Provinces it is found that more muscular, robust, and courageous men can be effectually supervised at an average rate of Rs. 11·10 less per head.

Paragraph 23 of the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution on the Jail Report runs thus:—

Mortality of prisoners.—Sir Charles Elliott considers that the question of the mortality of prisoners is the most important of all the questions affecting Jail administration, and cannot be satisfied with a high death-rate in any Jail without an exhaustive explanation of its causes. His Honor is pleased to observe that the death-rate from all causes was 32·3 per mille, which is the lowest on record, and is 25·2 per mille below the average of the last 28 years.

The remarkable improvement during the past year as compared with the preceding two years without doubt shows that the health of the prisoners was greatly affected by the late scarcity. The proportion of the daily average sick per mille of average strength was very high in the Jails at Shahabad (103·9), Jalpaiguri (77·3), Palamow (72·2), Chittagong (65·5), Dacca (65·1) and Chumparun (63·3). The unhealthiness of Shahabad Jail during the past year was attributed to epidemics of cholera and influenza; but the general health of the district is said to have deteriorated. The Lieutenant-Governor desires to see further inquiry made into the state of this Jail and of the district. The Palamow Jail shows a diminution in the proportion of the daily average sick as compared with the preceding year, but is still very unhealthy, and the Inspector-General will be asked for an explanation. Jalpaiguri and Chumparun Jails received a large number of malaria-stricken prisoners from the Terai, and there was an unusual prevalence of fever and influenza in the Chittagong and Dacca Jails respectively.

Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums of Bengal for the year 1890.

AT the close of the year the Bengal asylums contained 1,021 inmates. There is, in all the asylums of the province, accommodation for 1,019 patients, giving 50 superficial feet to each: the maximum number in confinement during any one night last year was 1,063. Forty-four more persons, that is to say, sharing the fifty feet air allowance than it could healthily maintain.

Dr. Hilson, however, believes that the collective capacity of all the institutions is somewhat larger than has been represented. Why did he not make sure before writing his Report? Doing so would not have cost him much trouble. The asylums enjoyed complete freedom from serious epidemic disease during the year, and the rate of mortality was consequently low.

Paragraph 3 of the Resolution accompanying the Report runs thus:—

In his Report for the year 1889, the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals discussed the question of the increase in the criminal population of the asylums in Bengal, and showed that the proportion of criminal lunatics admitted to the asylums in Bengal was far higher than that of the other provinces. He was desired to follow up the question, and ascertain in what respect the rules of admission and discharge of criminal lunatics in other parts of India differed from those in force in Bengal. The present Report contains no additional information on the subject. Dr. Hilson appears to consider (1) that lunatics are sent to the asylums when guilty of very trivial offences which might have been overlooked; (2) that more latitude might be allowed to the official visitors in recommending release. As to the second point, the Lieutenant-Governor will be glad to consider any specific suggestions which Dr. Hilson may wish to submit for the modification of the rules regarding release of lunatics, which were issued with the Resolution of this Government, dated 21st August 1888. As to the former point, the Lieutenant-Governor desires that a statement should be included in the next Report, showing, with regard to each criminal lunatic admitted during the year 1891, the crime with which he was charged. It is only by such an examination of details that it can be ascertained whether lunatics are sent to asylums whose confinement is not required by the public safety.

Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies. 1890.

13,826 coolies were requisitioned, 23,078 registered, 18,064 arrived in depôt, and 13,061 embarked. With the exception of Mauritius, every colony asked for a larger number of emigrants than it could get; or rather than the accounts show it to have got. Accounts Departments seem to consider it their special function to distort facts into compliance with petty-fogging rules of their own devising, dependent on the

particular way in which columns are red-ink ruled in their office books.

More emigrants were asked for, because of the improved prospects of the sugar industry. It is pleasant to note that the year has been distinguished by a complete absence of any serious complaint as to the treatment of coolies in the Colonies. A striking feature in the Report is the transfer of the recruitment area from Bengal to the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

The following statement gives the figures for two last years :—

| | 1889. | 1890. |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| " From Bengal and Behar | 7,818 | 6,646 |
| From North-Western Provinces and Oudh | 8,995 | 16,432 |
| Total recruited ... | <u>16,813</u> | <u>23,078</u> |

"In the previous year (1889) the district of the 24-Pergunnahs headed the list with 3,394 registrations; next came Shahabad with 2,630; and then Benares with 2,085. In the year under review Benares heads the list easily with 3,043; then come Ghazipur and the Oudh district of Fyzabad with 2,204 and 2,055 respectively; and after them the 24-Pergunnahs and Shahabad with 2,027 and 1,813.

"Registrations, however, do not give a true indication of the sources from which the emigrants are drawn, as large numbers have previously left their homes before they register as emigrants to the Colonies. The statement given by the Protector showing the native districts of the recruits brings the district of Azamgarh to the front with 2,823 emigrants, followed by Basti, Ghazipur and Balia, and by Shahabad in the fifth place only."

Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs for the year 1890.

OUT of a total population of 433,219 in the Town of Calcutta, 10,158 persons were convicted of offences under the Indian Penal Code,

Racially considered (as far as religious denominationalism in Bengal points to race), the percentages of convictions were as follow :—

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Mahomedans | 2'9 |
| Hindus | 21 |
| Christians | 16 |
| Buddhists and Jains | 104 |
| Jews | 101 |

In the Suburbs the percentage of Christians convicted was as large as that of Hindus, and very nearly as large as that of Mahomedans. What have the missionaries to plead in excuse for their converts?

Forty-three cases were declared false out of a total of 48,873 in the Town, eighteen out of 12,669 in the Suburbs. Sir John Edgar mildly suggests that "the extreme paucity of, and decrease in, the number of cases declared false, have not been sufficiently explained." Explanation is to be found possibly in the fact that "no case (of false complaint) was instituted by any Court *suo motu*." Failing a Public Prosecutor, Police Magistrates will continue probably to be apathetic with respect to this flagrant mischief: and it is not to be expected that an already overworked Police force should add to its burdens by work of superogation, however desirable it may be from the general public's point of regard.

The value of property stolen in Town and Suburbs was estimated at Rs. 1,53,957, or some twenty thousand rupees more than in the previous year. Concomitantly, some twenty thousand rupees more were recovered. There was an increase of offences relating to coin and stamps; 3 cases of murder had to be taken up against 4 in 1889; the culpable homicides, owing to Afghan turbulence, rose from one to four.

It is specially noted that no European seamen were charged with grievous hurt. The most satisfactory part of the report is that relating to burglary and house trespass. There were fewer cases, and proportionally more property was recovered. There were 85 cases of suicide, over 70 per cent. of these occurring amongst Hindus.

"Thirty-five vagrants were admitted into the Workhouse under section 5 of the Act. Two persons were deported, one to London and the other to Madras; sixteen were shipped away as seamen, eleven were provided with employment of various kinds, and five were released. Ten other persons of European extraction, who were not admitted into the Workhouse, entered into agreement under section 17 of the Act and were deported from India.

"Out of 66 seamen who found refuge in the Alms-house during the year, employment on ships was found for 51.

"Thirteen large fires occurred, in the Town and River, 26 in the Suburbs, and 8 at Howrah, at all of which steam fire-engines rendered effective assistance. Thirteen other small fires were also reported to have occurred, at which manual engines attended. The loss of property was estimated at Rs. 4,66,480 against Rs. 1,38,490 in 1889. The most serious fire in the Town occurred at Jorabagan, in which property worth Rs. 93,000 was destroyed, and that in the Suburbs occurred at the Bengal Hydraulic Jute Press at Chitpore. The loss in this case was said to be Rs. 2,70,000."

The ratio of the Police force was, with reference to population, 1 to 239.39 inhabitants, and, with reference to area, 1 to '010

square miles. We are told that "against the orders of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, 34 ordinary appeals were preferred, with the result that one conviction only was set aside; the High Court was moved in revision in five cases, but only once successfully. 51 ordinary appeals were made against the orders of the Northern Division Presidency Magistrate, all without success; 12 motions were made to the High Court with the result that two were successful. There were twelve ordinary appeals against the decisions of Honorary Magistrates, all of which were rejected except one; there were three motions to the High Court, but all were without success. These results speak well for the soundness of the decisions given by the Magistrates."

The Chief Presidency Magistrate says that Honorary Magistrates as a body continue to evince the interest they have always shown in the discharge of their work. Which, being interpreted, means that eight of them never attended Court at all, and thirty-six of them less than ten times during the year; and that some of them are fond of leaving their day's file unfinished.

. "O heaven! were man
But constant he were perfect: waiting for dinner
Fills him with faults.

Twenty-third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal for the year 1890.

VAULTING ambition can overleap itself in the derivation of theories and morals from obsolete statistics, as well as in more materially salient concerns. Although Dr. Gregg did not submit his report till the end of May, he could not restrain his ardour for report-writing till the results of the census of 12th February were available, but compiled his tabular statements and deductions therefrom a fortnight before that date. And so sundry elaborate calculations and deductions in this State paper, based on the census figures for 1881, are of no use.

The total number of deaths registered in 1890 was 1,612,479 as compared with 1,597,478 in the previous year. Registration in the Mofussil is admittedly very imperfect, and the Sanitary Commissioner, we are told in Sir Charles Elliott's Resolution accompanying the Report, "seems to think that the duties of his Department are limited to impressing upon the local authorities and the people themselves the importance of the subject. The Lieutenant-Governor has not much faith in the value of these general exhortations." Neither have we.

"Among the causes of the high infant mortality, which there is reason to believe must prevail in Bengal, Dr. Gregg refers to the insanitary conditions prevalent in large towns, to the tropical climate, the prevalence of malaria, and deficient or

improper clothing and food, and lays special stress on 'the fact that the infants of Bengal are the produce, in an enormous number of instances, of women who are themselves but undeveloped children, whose offspring are not remarkable for stamina or for a constitutional power of resistance to the causes of disease to which they are peculiarly liable.'"

The highest death-rates from cholera occurred in Faridpur, Chumparun, Bhagulpore and Dacca; but nowhere did the rate of mortality rise as high as in 1889. In Bhagulpore, a supply of filtered water is believed to have reduced mortality; and it is stated that, under the orders of the Board of Revenue, improvements are being carried out in the town of Bettiah—where most of the cholera deaths registered in Chumparun occurred. It is refreshing to find the Board of Red Tape doing something practical for once in a way. The number of deaths from small-pox rose from 8,655 to 12,619—an increase attributed to the inveteracy in popular favour of inoculation. (It enables Municipal Boards and Committees to reduce expenditure on vaccination.) Fever mortality increased, as well as the number of deaths from small-pox. Local officers in Gya and Shahabad attribute the prevalence of malaria in those districts to the malign influences of canal irrigation.

"In the Resolution on the Report of 1889, it is observed that the province of Orissa was remarkable for the comparative absence of fever, and that the district of Puri, in other respects the most unhealthy district of Bengal, showed the smallest fever mortality. Dr. Gregg now explains that in the hilly country in the north of the district, and the sandy tract which drains towards the sea and the Chilka Lake, the natural drainage is rapid, and the mortality from fever small."

A'propos of rural sanitation, we quote from the Resolution accompanying Dr. Gregg's Report:—

The Sanitary Commissioner states that little or no progress has as yet been made by District Boards in the direction of rural sanitation because, as was observed in the Resolution on last year's report, they possess no funds for the purpose, and have no power to impose local taxation for sanitary purposes. It appears, however, from the summary of sanitary works contained in Appendix III of the Report, that during the past year District and Local Boards spent Rs. 43,762 on sinking wells, excavating and clearing tanks, and improving drainage channels. The above sum includes an advance of Rs. 4,200 granted in Midnapore under the Land Improvement Loans Act to private individuals for the excavation of tanks and the construction of bunds or high level reservoirs; but it does not include the expenditure incurred on the completion of the Rungpore drainage scheme. In addition to this, no less than Rs. 2,65,785 was laid out by private individuals on the excavation of tanks, the provision of improved water and similar sanitary improvements. Among these works of private benevolence, special mention should be made of the large tank with six masonry ghâts excavated by Rani Man Mohini Devi of

Puttia, Rajshahi, at a cost of Rs. 30,000, and the generous offer of the same lady to lay out from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000 a year, for a period of four or five years, on constructing wells in the district ; of the donation of Rs. 1,12,500 made by Raja Surja Kant Acharjya of Muktagacha in Mymensingh, towards water-works for the head-quarters station ; and of the contribution of Rs. 11,466 promised, and in part paid, by the Maharaja of Durbhanga for clearing the Sivaganga and improving the drainage of Deoghur. With reference to the last-mentioned project, the Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs states that the plans, "though made over a year ago, are still lying somewhere unapproved by the authorities, and the gift under its terms may be withdrawn."

Report on the Legal Affairs of the Bengal Government for the year 1890-91.

THE following table shows the results of Civil litigation in Bengal for the last three years under the auspices of the Legal Remembrancer :—

| | 1888-89. | 1889-90. | 1890-91. |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Decided in favour of Government ... | 330 | 348 | 311 |
| Decided against Government ... | 155 | 58 | 75 |
| Compromised, remanded, or withdrawn | 57 | 48 | 59 |
| Percentage in favour of Government | 68½ | 85½ | 80½ |

Three cases were decided against Government in the Local High Court, two of them for chur lands in the Backergunge District, lying on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. With reference to these adverse decisions Mr. T. T. Allen writes :—
 "The Dearah Survey having found these lands liable to assessment as in excess—a view confirmed by the Commissioner—this decision was set aside on the report of a Civil Court Amin. I have addressed the Board of Revenue as to the absurdity of keeping up an expensive Dearah Survey when the Civil Court Amin is the real final arbiter."

Here is skeleton map of a case noteworthy because of the Privy Council ruling :—

The childless widow of a Midnapore zemindar, before making the adoption of the minor, had borrowed a sum of Rs. 20,000 at 18 per cent. compound interest, with half-yearly rests, the lenders being the Government Pleader and some others. A demand of Rs. 58,652 was made against the estate, and as the widow denied that she had any knowledge of the terms of the loan, and some of the lenders were persons on whom she had previously leant for advice, the demand was resisted by the Court of Wards. The Subordinate Judge gave a decision for the plaintiffs, and that decision was appealed against in the High Court, the Advocate-General being perfectly confident that such a usurious and questionable transaction could never be upheld there. The High Court Bench, consisting of the Chief Justice and Mr. R. F. Rampini, however, confirmed the decision regarding the interest, viz., 18 per cent. compound interest, with half-yearly rests, as not unreasonable. Now, another Bench of the High Court in a similar case having refused to allow as against the minor's estate higher interest than 12 per cent., that case was carried to the Privy Council, whose

judgment, since published at page 315, Volume XVIII, Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series, supports the decision in these words: "Then comes the question, was 12 per cent. a sufficient rate of interest? The widow was borrowing in a case of necessity. It was for the plaintiff to see whether there was really and fairly a ground of necessity. Was there a necessity to borrow at the rate of 18 per cent? That is a question to which he ought to have applied his mind; and if it were unreasonable to suppose that the widow could not borrow the money at a less amount than 18 per cent., he ought not to have charged her that rate. Their Lordships think, therefore, that the High Court were right in not allowing interest at a higher rate than 12 per cent."

The largest outstanding balance on account of Court of Wards decrees is Rs. 2,75,382 due from the Burdwan Raj Estate, Rs. 40,000 of which are barred by limitation.

Report on the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, for the year 1890-91.

COMPARED with last year's Returns, trade in 1890-91 showed a rise of 10·37 per cent. Statistics of trade between Bengal and Nepal show steady increase year by year:—

Looking to the imports, the greatest improvement is observable under food-grains (6,05,330 maunds), treasure (Rs. 4,12,901) and linseed, while mustard seed, cattle, tobacco, and ghee show a falling off. In the export trade the largest increase occurred in silk, manufactured, (Rs. 71,798), and the largest decrease in European cotton piece-goods (Rs. 2,21,751).

The export salt trade showed a recovery over the transactions of 1889-90, and the figures were equal to those of 1888-89. Out of the total supply, Chumparun contributed (34,148 maunds), Purneah (27,873 maunds), Mozufferpore (20,408 maunds), Bhagulpore (19,395 maunds), and Durbhanga (13,325 maunds).

There has been a partial withdrawal of the restrictions on trade across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier, and a consequent increase in it.

Reports of the Alipore and Hazaribagh Reformatory Schools for the year 1890.

AT the Alipore School the number of refugees rose from 108 at the beginning of the year under review to 135 at its close. The school has accommodation for 224. Twenty-four boys were released, one died of cholera, a large number suffered from chicken-pox. From reports received during the year regarding 80 previously released boys, it appeared that ten had been reconvicted, one did not bear a good character, 69 were believed to be leading honest lives. Of these 69, only four follow the trades they were taught at the school. Caste prejudices and hereditary customs are held answerable for this slur on its practicality.

Is there no hereditary or other prejudice to boot on the part of the school management against going half way to meet work-a-day serviceableness?

The boys at Alipore work for seven hours a day, undergo one hour of compulsory school, and are patted on the back if they furthermore elect to put in voluntary attendance at the night school from 6 to 8 P.M.; 110 of them do so accordingly.

It may be unkind to hint a suspicion that virtue is being overdone; but, bearing in mind the inevitability of boys being boys, we are at a loss how else to account for this phenomenal love of school.

The Hazaribagh boys—there were 291 of them last year against 267 in 1889—are not such saps, and have not such a perfect character record as the Alipore lot. Amongst them occurred 150 cases of fighting and offences against discipline; two boys temporarily escaped during the year.

“Reports were received during the year regarding 94 released boys: 57 reports were favourable; in 13 cases the whereabouts of the boys were not traceable; 5 boys were reconvicted and sent to jail, and 6 were looked upon with suspicion by the police; 7 boys continued to work at the trades they learned in school, and 6 died.

“There is a very limited local market for the articles manufactured in the Hazaribagh Reformatory, and this stands in the way of the manufactures being carried on upon a more extensive scale. The shoe-making industry has proved a failure. There was a considerable improvement in the weaving industry which brought in a profit of Rs. 1,496. A portion of the jail work in this branch of the industry has been made over to the school.”

Report by the Board of Revenue on the Revenue Administration of the North-Western Provinces for the Revenue year 1889-90, ending 30th September 1890.

THE balance of land revenue borne on the roll last year was large, amounting to Rs. 4,50,683. Rs. 1,87,416 were collected during the year, Rs. 99,546 were remitted, Rs. 10,670 are pronounced “nominal.”

“The outstanding balance is, therefore, Rs. 1,53,051. Of this however Rs. 1,14,413 were due from deteriorated villages in Agra, Farukhabad, Mainpuri and Etah, and are now under formal suspension. The tract in which these arrears are due was carefully inspected during last winter by the Lieutenant-Governor when on tour. The principles upon which the revision of assessment was being conducted, appeared to him by no means sufficiently liberal in view of the disastrous re-

sults of the floods and saturation of recent years, and the very considerable exodus which had consequently occurred; and instructions were given to the revising officers, under which outstanding dues will be generally struck off and settlements made, which will, it is hoped, give fresh heart to both landlords and tenants and bring about before long return of some of the many absentees. Of the remaining outstanding sum, Rs. 38,638 are due from estates under attachment, generally in the deteriorated tracts of the Agra Division, and include arrears in villages of the Muttra district, which also have received, since the Lieutenant-Governor's last winter tour, the specific orders of Government. A barbed fence has been put up experimentally at a cost of Rs. 48,920, along $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Agra and Muttra districts, to keep out the wild cattle which infest the villages adjoining the Bhartpur border; and, if found effectively to withstand injuries and to answer the purposes for which it was erected, it will be continued along so much of the frontier as has the misfortune to adjoin the Bhartpur State, and to be exposed to the ravages of its uncontrolled wild herds of cattle. Of Rs. 29,980, the real outstanding balances of Jalaun, only Rs. 8,369 were collected, and Rs. 12,045 were remitted, still leaving a real balance on account of the arrears of previous years of Rs. 9,566."

Excluding nominal items from the demand, collections averaged 99.12 per cent. of it. The much vaunted Kali Nadi Water-works have resulted in a flourishing crop of Káns grass and jungle all over the low-lands served by them. Last year a lot more land was taken up for canals at a compensation cost of Rs. 58 an acre. Only 900 acres were taken up for Railway purposes, mainly in the Sháhjahánpur and Pilibhít districts. Some compensation cases have been pending for four years.

There was a further decline in the income from the Mirzapur Stone Quarries.

"The Collector of Allahabad attributes the increase in the number of suits for arrears of rent to the introduction of the system of remitting rent by money-orders. The Commissioner and the Board do not agree, and they show that at least the commencement of this flood-tide of litigation was anterior to the introduction of the money-order system. It is improbable, however, that the Collector should be altogether wrong on a matter of fact, of which he had ample means of accurate local knowledge, and on which his report indicates that he took considerable trouble to inform himself."

The Board of Revenue has been unable to trace any special cause to which the increase of litigation, especially in suits for arrears of rent, may be ascribed.

Applications to eject tenants-at-will increased by nearly 4 per cent. in number, but decreased nearly as much in area.

It is held satisfactory that, notwithstanding increase of work, the average duration of contested and uncontested cases alike has diminished.

Benares and Meerut were again the two divisions in which the largest number of Appeals to Collectors were filed.

The Lieutenant-Governor "is disappointed to see the very great decline in the applications for loans for Agricultural improvement. In number and value they are little more than half of those of 1887-88. Nor does he understand the remark of the Commissioner of Benares that such advances will not be taken in his Division because of the greater formality of the rules. The rules have not been increased in formality and are of sufficient simplicity to be no deterrent to applicants in districts that adjoin the Benares Division. The Collector of Muzaffarnagar is probably nearer the truth when he says that it is the fashion in some districts to take advances, and in others it is not."

Sir Auckland Colvin seems to be of opinion that a far-fetched excuse is better than none.

We are told that the "new branches of the Midland Railway in the districts of Bundelkhand and Jhānsi appear to have had little influence as yet in promoting trade and wakening the agricultural energies of the tracts they traverse ; but, like the Betwa Canal, they were designed in the first instance as protective works, and their indirect influence will gradually be recognized."

Report on the Excise Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 30th September 1890.

THE gross, nett and "real" receipts for the year of report were respectively Rs. 54,15,600, Rs. 52,90,369 and Rs. 54,21,040 ; the revenue having been the lowest since 1884-85, and fallen short of the estimate by Rs. 2,34,400, while net charges exceeded estimate by Rs. 9,031.

The revenue derived from country spirits has been gradually declining for the last six years ; revenue from spirits manufactured after English methods (of the Rosa Distillery pattern) increasing ; revenue from drugs ditto. The moral seems to be that human nature is still desperately wicked, and when thwarted in its propensity for one sort of intoxicant, excogitates proclivity to another. In other words, the truism holds good that you can no more make people virtuous by excise imposts than you can by Act of Parliament.

The Report informs us that a contractor in the Moradabad

district—with a monopoly for his objective apparently—"engaged in contracts that could not possibly be remunerative."

Possibly he understands his own business better than the Joint Secretary to the Board of Revenue N.-W. P. and Oudh does. The Commissioner of Excise and the Board of Revenue of those Provinces, by the way, are not of one mind with us in their interpretation of the workings of the laws of supply and demand in connection with their excise affairs, but are of opinion that there is little, if any, connection between diminished consumption of strong drink and increase in consumption of drugs and opium.

In the district reports, it seems, a choice is offered of reasons to account for the decrease in still-head duty. To wit:—

(1) the high price of the materials of manufacture, *viz.*, *mahua* and molasses ; (2) the high price of food-grains ; (3) a deficient Kharif crop, owing to the excessive or irregular rainfall of 1889, and a short rabi crop, due to imperfect preparation of the ground at the sowing season, and the absence of winter rains, these two causes operating to bring about, or intensify, agricultural depression ; (4) sickness due to influenza, small-pox, and other complaints last spring ; (5) a diminished number of Hindu marriages ; (6) the issue of more highly distilled liquor (in one or two districts only), which, while paying the same still head duty as weaker liquor, went further in consumption ; (7) the influence of Temperance Leagues (in certain districts) ; (8) a plentiful mango crop (in one district).

This list is at any rate exhaustive. It would require a vivid imagination to soar beyond the "plentiful mango crop in one district"—and consequent money to spend—as an incentive to temperance. As to the influence of Temperance Leagues, the Junior Member of the Board of Revenue is of opinion that although "perhaps" in certain places, they may have induced substitution of non-alcoholic drinks for spirituous liquors at marriage and other festivities, in the Kayeth and "possibly" in one or two other castes, yet their efforts have scarcely at all affected the private habits of the majority of drinkers. Retail liquor-shops decreased by 80 : the changes in their number within individual districts were not numerous. There was an average of one shop to every 6,436 of population. (In Madras the Mills proportion is one to 1,496.)

There was one more distillery than in 1888-89.

The number of licenses for vend of *tári* and *sendhi* increased slightly.

Increase of revenue from drugs and opium amounted to 3.22 per cent. It is explained that this increase was not due to generally increased consumption, but to revised arrangements with respect to local contracts, to restriction of the area of cultivation, and to greater preventive vigilance.

Here is a quotation from Mr. Petre's Report:—

Probably the preparation and vend of *madak* and *chandru* by Govern-

ment contractors cannot advisedly be altogether discontinued. But the Junior Member is of opinion that the question may be considered whether the shops for their sale should not be managed on a different method from the present, the functions of the contractor being confined to manufacture and vend only. At present the shops are not merely depôts for the sale of the prepared drug, but are also smoking rooms, where consumption on the premises is permitted. The customer is attended to by servants of the shopkeeper who prepare *chandu* or *madak* as required, providing and filling the pipes and saving the consumer all trouble. The persons who frequent the shops are mostly of indifferent character; and neither they nor the contractors are persons likely to discourage any who may unwarily be led into trying the effects of the drugs. The public shops are, in short, places where not only are the demands of the vice met, but indulgence in it is certain to be encouraged and propagated. The proposal to restrict the contractors' license strictly to manufacture and vend is doubtless open to the objection that the use of *madak* and *chandu* might be introduced to a greater extent into private houses, and that authorized smoking resorts, supplied by illicit manufacture and vend, would be set up. The matter is no doubt one that requires careful consideration from the police point of view. But it can scarcely be gainsaid that the maintenance of the present *madak* and *chandu* smoking shops, under the cover and authority of licenses granted by the Government, is open to grave objections.

The Board of Revenue agrees with the Excise Commissioner in thinking that Treasury Officers ought not to be placed in charge of excise. According to the existing arrangement the Excise Officer, who is tied by Treasury work to Head-quarters, is neither fish, flesh, or good red herring; and at the best can be, as Mr. Wall puts it, only half an Excise Officer. It is unfair on the Department.

On the eve of Mr. Wall's retirement from the service "the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner desires to place on record his acknowledgments of Mr. Wall's labours in the Department of which he has been for nearly ten years the head."

Annual Report on the Condition and Management of the Jails in the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh (with Tabular Statements) for the year ending 31st December 1890.

THE number of convicts continues to increase, and the figure is now 44,694, against 32,969 five years ago. And the increase is not accounted for by admissions for petty crime. Quite the contrary. The Inspector-General of Prisons thinks that the high price of food-grains accounts for the rise in numbers. Prisoners from Burma also help to swell the total.

Of 44,694 convicts admitted during the year, 5,123 were recognized as habitual criminals. The Lieutenant-Governor concurs with Sir J. W. Tyler in thinking that habitual offenders, while in Jail, should be treated with extra strictness, and appears to think that the objections of the Jail Committee to

the use of fetters have proved prejudicial to Jail discipline, *e. g.*, there were 27 escapes; 3,007 convicts were released under the good conduct rules. The number of juvenile prisoners increased slightly. Jail accommodation was, "on the whole," sufficient for the demands made on it. Convict Warders—there were 1,102 of them—are reported to have been better conducted than unconvicted ones. The cost per head for convict maintenance was Rs. 41-5-8. Since 1887 (the year in which the present provincial contract commenced) Jail expenditure has increased by about 20 per cent. *Per contra*, the result of Jail manufactures is that the total cost of Jails to Government is reduced from Rs. 10,24,585 to Rs. 9,14,486. Sick and death rates were higher in 1890 than they have been in any year since 1879. Gorakhpur continues to be the most unhealthy Jail in the Provinces.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1890

WE quote from the Resolution accompanying this Report:—

The number of suits instituted during the year, namely 240,679, was 2,720 less than in 1889, and 17,296 less than the number instituted in the year 1888, and in fact it is stated in the Judge's Report that the litigation of the year has been reduced below that of any year since 1877. It must be remembered, however, that previous to the close of the year 1884 there were no regular Revenue Courts in this Province, whereas a considerable number of what were formerly treated as civil suits is now disposed of by the Revenue Courts, so that the figures given in the Civil Justice Reports from 1887 to 1884 do not show the real facts when compared with those from 1885 to 1890. The decrease is chiefly noticeable in the districts of the old Mooltan Division, in Siálkot, Amritsar, Kángra and Umballa. In the Siálkot District there were 2,447 cases less than in the previous year—a decrease of 15·77 per cent. This is attributed to the autumnal fever, which also caused a decrease in litigation in the adjoining district of Gujrát. There was a marked increase of institutions in the districts of Shahpur (20 per cent.), Jhelum (14 per cent.), Hoshiarpur and Gujránwála. Litigation is heaviest in the Central or Sikh districts of the Province. The total value of the litigation was Rs. 2,54,59,368, or Rs. 47,54,267 more than in the year 1889, and Rs. 43,57,539 more than in the year 1888. In the Lahore and Gujránwála Districts two suits of the values of 13 lakhs and 35 lakhs of rupees, respectively, were filed. In respect of one class of suits only, those relating to land assessed to land revenue, has there been a decrease in value of the property in dispute. This is attributed to the operation of the rules under the Suits Valuation Act, which fix the value of suits for land or interest in land by reference to a multiple of the revenue demand instead of the estimated market value.

Of the total number of suits instituted during the year, 86 per cent. were for money or moveables, 10 per cent. for immoveable property, and 4 per cent. for other forms of relief. These percentages are practically uniform from year to year. The number of suits for money based on bonds, contracts, or in consideration of goods supplied, was

practically the same as last year. On these 105,394 suits were brought by bankers and shopkeepers against agriculturists, as compared with 102,222 in the year 1889 and 108,724 in 1888. The District Judge of Ludhiána, whose report, to judge from the printed extracts, seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be a good one, has carefully considered this subject and has given several reasons for his conclusion that such suits may be expected to gradually increase in number. It is satisfactory to note that there is a marked decrease in the number of suits based on "contract not in writing"—a decrease amounting to 10 per cent. as compared with the figures of 1889, and 18 per cent. as compared with the average of the previous eight years. There is a corresponding increase in the number of suits founded on bonds, but the steady decrease since 1884 in the number of suits on *registered* bonds shows that the safeguard of registration is being less and less resorted to. The figures of the Annual Registration Reports confirm this conclusion. The number of suits founded on an "account stated" shows no tendency to decrease.

Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1890.

REPORT-WRITING must be a difficult business when, out of one's inner consciousness, one has to excogitate colourable reason for all and sundry departures from normal precedent. Thus we find it regretted that increase of crime in the Southern districts of the Jullunder Division cannot be wholly explained by the character of the harvests there. The Judge of Gujrat is more fertile of resource, and accounts for decrease of crime in that district by the suggestion that "autumnal fever" induced diminish activity among the criminal classes. The Secretariat supplements this theory with a hint 'that sickness possibly rendered the people too apathetic to report crime.' In hope that we may be able to put a finishing touch to this house of cards, we venture, in turn, to suggest that, during the non-autumnal months, some other fever must have compelled the police to apathy in the cognizance of crime. That notion, it seems to us, rounds off and gives symmetry to the edifice.

Sir James Lyall congratulates his Administration on a considerable decrease of crime in 1889, and further and marked diminution in the number of offences reported in 1890, when the number of offences coming within the Penal Code purview that are in Punjab parlance "admitted to have occurred," was 76,424—less by 3,607, that is to say, than in the previous year, and more than 5,000 less than the average for the previous five years. We give the figures for whatever they may be worth, our own idea being that that this can be but little. Although the number of offences affecting human life shows an increase of 9 per cent., the Lieutenant-Governor—inasmuch as burglaries were less frequent—complacently considers that the amount of crime in the province has been

reduced to normal proportions. We are reminded of the Bengalee proverb that says: "Take first my wife! then my life!! last of all my money!!!"

The æsthetic uses of statistics are appreciated in the Punjab, where all cases, true or false, that go up for trial, are docketed "admitted to have occurred," even though a trial in a Criminal Court may have shown either that no offence was committed, or that the dispute to be adjudicated on was entirely matter for Civil Court consideration. Facts, notwithstanding all such cases, are made to appear in statistical returns as crimes "admitted to have occurred." Statistics are a beautiful and wonderful invention: all that they stand in need of now in the Punjab is 'invention of a conscience' for their use. The Punjab is now, as ever, equal to any occasion, and we are glad to note tentative efforts in the required direction. Referring to the varying proportions of summary dismissals of cases in contiguous similarly constituted districts, it may perchance be found, we are told in the Resolution accompanying this Report, that the method pursued in their statistical compilation is erroneous. In a word, even infallibility may be manipulated for schismatic ends. The Junior Secretary to Government writes:—

The alteration in the law effected by Act IV of 1891, which empowers a Magistrate to grant compensation for frivolous or vexatious accusations in warrant cases as well as in summons cases, has no doubt been brought to the notice of Magistrates by the Chief Court. Owing to the limitations by which the procedure of Section 250 of the Criminal Procedure Code has hitherto been restricted, the deterrent effects of that section in reducing the number of false charges were not widely operative. During the year under report only 907 cases of frivolous or vexatious charges were dealt with under Section 250. The returns of the current year should show an improvement in this respect.

Of the number of true offences under the Penal Code 72 per cent. were brought to trial in both 1890 and 1889 as compared with 70 per cent. in 1888. This percentage may be taken in a general way as indicative of the detective efficiency of the Police,—but subject to limitations; for whereas in Ludhiána, as high a proportion as 88 per cent. of the true cases were brought to trial, and in only 25 per cent. of these convictions were obtained, it would seem that many cases were brought into Court in which evidence sufficient to justify a conviction had not been collected. In Montgomery the percentage of cases brought to trial is very low,—only 52 per cent., as compared with 79 per cent. in the neighbouring districts of Jhang and Mooltan. This low percentage of cases brought to trial in Montgomery has been an unsatisfactory feature in the criminal administration of the district for some years. The class of crime in which detection is least successful is burglary, only 2,882 cases of serious criminal trespass having been brought to trial out of 13,297 cases admitted to have occurred.

Convictions for offences under the Penal Code were obtained in only 36 per cent. of the cases brought to trial. The recent

appointment of Public Prosecutors in several sessions districts will, it is hoped, produce some effect in raising the percentage of convictions in the more important cases.

The number of murder cases has increased from 397 in 1889 to 490 in the year under report, but is less than it was in 1888. 184 of this year's murders occurred in the trans-Indus districts, 54 of them in Peshawar. Still, in this district, prior to introduction of the Frontier Crimes Regulation, the average was for some years 78. So there has been improvement. Among cis-Indus districts, Rawalpindi is described as standing forth prominent for murders, 45 of them having been committed during 1890 and 46 and 44, respectively, in the two previous years.

In Lahore 22 murders were perpetrated. In eight of these accused were convicted by the Sessions Judge, but in only one case was the conviction upheld by the Chief Court.

The number of references to Councils of Elders under section 13 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation fell from 1,112 in 1889 to 528 in the year under report:—

The Lieutenant-Governor has noticed the remarks of the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu and of the Sessions Judge of Derajat regarding the extension to the Bannu, Dera Ishmail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan Districts of the provisions of Section 14 (2) of the Regulation. It was thought advisable to omit these provisions in extending the Regulation to the Derajat, and therefore at present no sentence other than fine can in these districts be passed upon the finding of a Council of Elders, and, in default of payment of a fine, a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding in the maximum $2\frac{1}{2}$ years may be imposed. This of course, though better than no punishment, is too inadequate to be properly deterrent. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly is prepared to reconsider the point, and has requested the Commissioner of the Division to consider this question and report upon the recommendations of the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu and the Sessions Judge. But the remarks of the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara in regard to trial by Jirga of mischief cases indicate the difficulty. If it is decided not to extend Section 14 (2) to the Derajat Frontier Districts, it will be necessary for Deputy Commissioners to exercise extreme caution in determining what cases to refer to Councils of Elders and to abstain except for very special reasons from referring serious murder cases in which *prima facie* the evidence of the guilt of the accused is tolerably complete. His Honor very much doubts whether a due discretion in this matter has been exercised during the year under report by the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, in which district it appears that all the 20 cases of murder reported during the year were referred to Jirgas. The fact that in 17 of these cases conviction was secured, justifies the belief that, in some of the cases at least, it would have been possible to secure a conviction and to inflict an adequate sentence in the ordinary tribunals.

Report on the Police Administration in the Punjab for the year 1890.

THE number of cognizable offences reported to the Police and Magistrates was 70,761, and it is contended that,

on the whole, provincial statistics show a real and satisfactory decrease in the amount of ordinary crime. In the number of murders there has been an increase, which reminds us that the murder figures in this Blue Book are not in agreement with those given in the Report of the Judges of the Chief Court on last year's Criminal administration.

"There *must* be some explanation," the Lieutenant-Governor says plaintively, like Owen Glendower calling spirits from the vasty deep that won't come when they are called. What does it matter, what can it matter? Everybody knows, or ought to know by this time, that figures ground out of statistical mills at Lahore are not to be relied on; and so they are less mischievous than the products of other Indian mills, equally untrustworthy, but with a better reputation for accuracy. There were fewer robberies and burglaries than in any year since 1885: in the cis-Indus districts thefts were fewer than in any year since 1883; in the trans-Indus districts fewer than in any of the previous three years.

The percentage of cases in which convictions were procured was higher than in any year since the present method of compiling the returns was introduced; and, on the other hand, the percentage of persons convicted was lower than in any year during the same period, the difference in each instance being 3 per cent. on the averages of the previous six years. Since 1887, while the percentage of cases in which convictions have been obtained has steadily risen, that of persons convicted has as steadily declined. The Lieutenant-Governor is aware that so long as the statistics include, as at present, cases dealt with directly by the Magistrates, it is impossible to define accurately the extent to which the Police are responsible for these results, and of course in any case the ultimate decision rests with the Courts and not with them, but apparently there is an increasing tendency to send up for trial persons whose guilt cannot be proved, and more discrimination seems to be required in selecting the parties who should be placed upon their trial.

Although the number of burglaries and thefts was less than in 1889, the value of the stolen property "is said to have been" larger, while the amount recovered fell from 39 to 36 per cent. The percentage of recoveries was highest in the Hissar district, lowest in that of Peshawar.

We quote from paras. 4 and 5 of the Resolution:—

While more than 10,000 persons were convicted of offences against property during the year under review, 1,592 were returned as old offenders, that is, who had been previously convicted and were again convicted during the year. In the year 1886 the number of persons convicted of similar offences was very much the same, while the number of persons re-convicted during that period was 1,137; these figures, therefore, so far as they go, appear to indicate that the Police are becoming

more careful in sifting the antecedents of offenders : at the same time there is little doubt that many professional criminals escape with inadequate punishment because the fact of their having been previously convicted is unknown at the time of the trial. At present the law gives the Police no authority to control the movements of professional criminals after their release from jail, and in this respect is less effective than that of England, where, under certain circumstances, Police surveillance for a period not exceeding seven years can be awarded as part of the sentence passed on an offender. The expediency of introducing similar provisions into Indian law was brought to the notice of the Government of India nearly two years ago, but no alteration in the law has yet been made. Until this is done, the Lieutenant-Governor fears that the powers of the Police to repress professional crime must tend to diminish, as criminals, like other classes of the community, now enjoy greater facilities in moving about the country, and after their release from jail are able to recommence a career of crime in places where their antecedents are unknown.

The remarks made in the Report about criminal tribes are on the whole encouraging. The Mînâs in the Gurgaon District are said to show a tendency to settle down and earn an honest livelihood. In the Jullundur District the Harnîs are stated to have committed very little serious crime, while in Ludhiâna the District Superintendent of Police reports that the Sânsîs are no doubt taking to honest courses. With regard to the members of this tribe in the Lahore District, the Commissioner thinks that the time has come for the withdrawal of the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act. If this is the matured opinion of the local officers, the Lieutenant-Governor will consider any recommendation which may be made, but it should be observed that the District Superintendent of Gurdâspur advocates the application of the Act to the Sânsîs of the Amritsar District, and if the reasons for this opinion are well founded, it may be premature to relax the provisions of the law in favour of the fellow tribesmen who are settled in the adjoining district of Lahore.

Report on the Operations of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September 1890.

MR. HOLDERNESS, while willing to allow that the plan of embodying Village Record Reports in the Annual Revenue Administration Report has its advantages, is fain to lament that this new arrangement invidiously places him "in the position of a person who has to put on the stage a piece from which the principal character has been struck out."

The meritorious points in his administration emphasized by the Director of Land Records, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, are—that with surplus funds obtained by the imposition of the patwari rate, the salaries of the patwari establishment in the Benares Division have been substantially improved, and additional kanungos provided. In other Divisions, revisions of patwaris' circles and salaries have been pushed on. In Azamgarh, measures have been taken to improve the accuracy of the rental entries in village records.

Throughout the provinces an attempt has been made to reduce their bulk and improve their statistical utility. Having an eye to the future, this strikes us as the most valuable, albeit the least aggressive, of Mr. Holderness's reforms. He is, by the way, of opinion that the money and care now expended on the kanungo and patwari staff have not been thrown away. Let us hope they have not.

No success has as yet attended Departmental experiments in the reclamation of *usar* land. The theory of one experiment was that, by means of simple enclosure for five or six years, without any further aids to regeneration, the soil would be so improved that a respectable annual revenue from the sale of grass would result. Alas! although scientific authorities ever and anon assure us that a chaste simplicity is the motive soul of inventive genius, it does not always command the success it deserves. It has not done so under the auspices of the Department of Land Records in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, though the head of the Department considers it desirable in the interests of science that a decade of bootless experimentalizing with fences should be perpetuated. Manuring and deep ploughing seem to our undepartmental sense of fitness likelier investments if only because it is admitted that "the progress of *reh* is the most serious agricultural danger of the canal districts;" and deep cultivation by loosening subsoil enables the salts in it to escape to underground waters.

In the light of an encouragement to the extension of arboriculture throughout the Empire, we note that receipts under that head from the Meerut, Pilibhit, Bulandshahr, Cawnpore, Jaunpore, Benares, Bijnor,—Hardoi,—Moradabad and Partabgarh districts more than cover expenditure incurred. The total length of roads under avenues at the close of 1888-89 was 4,583 miles—to which 316 miles were added during the year under report. Landowners and tenant farmers in several districts are specially referred to as having taken an interest in planting trees and maintaining avenues on public roads. There is nothing strange in the fact: it is but reversion to a worthy Aryan tradition. Tree planting for the shelter and delectation of wayfarers was an established religious practise ages before Hon'ble Boards of Revenue and red tape were invented, to stifle the godly enterprize with vexatious and contradictory Rulings and Regulations as to *Sâcrats* and their liability to double assessment under Income-tax and Road and Public Works Cess Acts.

It appears that Dr. Voelker, as a result of his much trumpeted scientific exploitation of agricultural India, has suggested to the North-Western Provinces authorities concerned that the forms of tabular statements appended to Annual Reports on

the Cawnpore Model Farm should be revised. *Parturiunt montes, &c.* At this Institution, last year's working has shown woollen refuse to be the best of all manures for maize, and peculiarly suitable for use in Mofussil villages where nothing of the sort is procurable by the rayats. Fresh cotton seed was procured by the farm from America, and tried. It has not, as yet, developed into text for a theory. "With regard to sugar-cane experiments, the practice on the farm is to sow only the top pieces of the cane, whereas in most of the Eastern districts the wasteful practice of using the whole of the cane prevails." Indigo, preceding wheat as an ordinary crop, is held to benefit the land. Herein the issue of Cawnpore Farm experiments is diametrically opposed to Indian agricultural tradition. Settlement officers, or Magistrates, &c. should make a note of the Cawnpore Farm Ruling on the subject. The Saharanpur Gardens, primarily established for the sake of botanical research and scientific observation, are described as, at present, plant and seed nurseries on a large scale for the sale of flower and vegetable seeds, ornamental shrubs, &c. The pursuit of science is in short an unprofitable, market-gardening a lucrative, business. With regard to the Matesar Garden at Kumaon Mr. Holderness writes:—

A good area was under potatoes, and though the crop was poor, a fair income was realized by sales of potato seed. The manager receives more applications for seed than he can comply with, and the high price which good hill seed now commands has induced private persons settled in Kumaon to take up this industry. The demand is chiefly confined to Europeans, as native potato growers in the plains prefer Farakhabad potato seed. At first I thought this was on account of its comparative cheapness: but the real reason is that the country potato gives a larger crop than English seed brought down from the hills. Growers in the Farakhabad district have acknowledged to me a yield equivalent to nearly 6 tons the acre. No hill seed ever gives such results in the plains.

The up-keep of the Taj Garden cost Rs. 9,999-2-10, more than a third of this sum being absorbed by the Superintendent's salary.

The Assistant Director of Agriculture, North-Western Province and Oudh,—“an officer who has had a very long acquaintance with the subject,” and takes great interest in it—while recognizing the social value of agricultural shows, thinks poorly of their effect on agriculture. Insufficient time, he protests, is given in their programmes to agricultural exhibits and trials: “amusements, and not instruction or edification, occupy the first place in the thoughts of the management.” Under the heading “Distribution and Sale of Implements,” we are told:—

The sales show a decrease on those for the previous year. This is chiefly due to the strict enforcement of the rule regarding payment in cash which it has been found necessary to prescribe. The pumps are unquestionably useful for canal lift-irrigation or for tank irrigation.

They are often borrowed by cultivators living near the farm, but the price stands in the way of their becoming generally popular. Instances have occurred of ordinary cultivators having come long distances to the farm to hire a pump during the irrigation season.

421 copies of the *Urdu Agriculturul Journal* are now issued every month, against 274 in the preceding year.

Seven elaborately coloured and more or less useless maps are appended to this Report, and must have helped materially to swell the cost of printing it.

Annual Report of the Foreign Trade of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1891.

TOTAL TRAFFIC increased in volume by some four lakhs of maunds, and in value by nearly 1,00,00,000 rupees. Imports from Nepal show an increase of 4,71,780 maunds in weight, and Rs. 9,08,059 in value; principally due to improvement in the timber trade. Exports to Nepal show a decrease of 23,901 maunds and Rs. 2,29,685; occurring chiefly in cotton goods, salt and sugar. Tibet Imports and Exports both show decrease, due to a smaller importation of borax and salt. The wool import trade "shows considerable expansion."

Report on the Management of Estates in the Court of Wards or under the Taluqdars' Relief Act in Oudh, for the Revenue year 1889-90, ending the 30th September 1890.

THE Chief Secretary's Resolution on this Report says:—

The report deals with 44 estates, of which 42 were in charge of the Court at the end of the year 1888-89, and two were taken under management during the year 1889-90. Seven estates were released, leaving 37 estates at the end of the year. The short history of the released estates during the time they were managed by the Court of Wards, as given in the Report, is on the whole a satisfactory record of management. A large area of waste land has been broken up and cultivated, and tenants have been attracted and settled on the estates. A considerable number of wells have been sunk and other improvements effected. The rent-roll has increased, and in every instance the estate has been handed over to the proprietors clear of debt. In the case of the Marwan, Unchgaon Bhadaur and Mansurgarh estates, the balance made over to the wards with the estates amounted to Rs. 29,728, Rs. 36,541 and Rs. 24,047 respectively. These are, considering the rental of these estates, large sums to place at the immediate disposal of the young wards, and it is matter for much regret that in spite of constant advice and warning the Deputy Commissioners failed to find means of investing these savings in land or in a more liberal improvement of the estates.

The sum spent on improvements amounted to only 45,574 rupees, of which Rs. 13,756 are recoverable, having been advanced to tenants as takávi.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Soul of Man : An Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology. By DR. PAUL CARUS. With 152 Illustrations and Diagrams. Chicago, Ill. : The Open Court Publishing Co. 1891.

THE best way of enabling our readers to form an idea of Dr. Carus' views regarding existence and the relation between the soul of man and the other facts of the universe will, perhaps, be by quoting some of the passages of his work in which they are most succinctly stated.

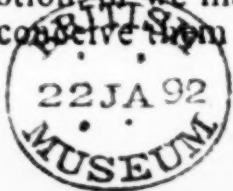
Referring to Professor Clifford's conclusion, that the world consists entirely of "mind-stuff," matter being a mental picture in which mind-stuff is the thing represented, Dr. Carus says, that it appears to him very abrupt, and he would say, in preference : "The thing in itself is the inner, *i. e.*, subjective reality, which appears (so as to become perceptible) as motions, or outer, *i. e.*, objective reality.

By way of explanation he adds : "The world is as it is, one indivisible whole. All its objective reality is throughout combined with subjective reality. The objective reality we call matter, and its activity motions ; the subjective reality we call elements of feeling ; and the compounds resulting therefrom are actual feelings and consciousness. . . . Matter is no mere mental picture, it represents a certain feature of reality, *viz.*, all that can affect sensibility. . . . In reality objects have no separate existence ; they exist in a constant flux, and the full exhaustive comprehension of one object would include a comprehension of the whole universe. . . . The human soul is 'nothing more nor less than a certain action of the universe upon one part of the universe and the re-action following thereupon. . . . Reality is everything that is or can become an object of experience ; both abstracts" (subject and object) "accordingly represent something that is real. Reality is not in the one, if considered alone and by itself, but in the entire whole."

By "separate" in the first of the above sentences, Dr. Carus means separate, whether from one another, or from the subject.

The relationship involved in this conception of what is, he elsewhere observes, is capable of being formulated in three alternative ways :—

"We may represent motion, or we may represent mind, as the basis of the world, or we may conceive them as being on equal terms.



(1). On the one hand, motion may be conceived as the objective realization (a kind of revelation) in which the activity of the elements of feeling appears.

(2). On the other hand, motion may be conceived as the substratum which carries the more ethereal elements of feeling.

(3). If neither matter nor motion is to be considered, the one as the basis of the other, reality, as it exists in itself, may be conceived as a great interacting something, in which the effects of all the surrounding parts upon one special part, an atom or a monad, in so far as this part is concerned, appear as what we have defined as an element of feeling; while the effects of this special part, of every atom or monad, upon the rest, in so far as the totality is concerned, appear as motion."

Dr. Carus, while regarding all three conceptions as fundamentally the same, prefers the third "as being least one-sided and most unequivocal in representing the oneness of all reality."

A more readily intelligible, and a more unequivocally monistic conception, it seems to us, would be that reality is a great interacting plenum of feeling, every part of which is in sympathy with all the rest, and in which the activity of all the rest, as affecting by sympathy any one individual part, is apprehended by that part as motion. This is, perhaps, another form of (1), with sympathy substituted for revelation, an expression which is too suggestive of a *Deus ex machinâ*, and which leaves the *modus* of the revelation unexplained.

Dr. Carus defines mind as the organized totality of deduced facts, or inferences, as it is developed in feeling substance. "From feelings alone," he says, "mind can grow. But there is a difference between feelings and mind. Feelings develop into mind, they grow to be mind by being interpreted, by becoming representative."

As to the origin of deduced facts, he says they "have been produced by the effort of accounting for given facts, *viz.*, the elementary data of consciousness and their relations." This view of the nature of mind links itself with the conception of the universe embodied in the above statement, that the nature of given facts is subjectivity, while the character of inferred facts is objectivity.

"The latter, having grown out of the former, will, nevertheless, so far as they are states of consciousness, always remain subjective; yet they contain representations of that which is delineated by certain given facts. Thus they contain an element which stamps upon them the nature of objectivity. They represent objects, the existence of which the feeling subject cannot help assuming, because this is the simplest way of indicating certain changes that are not caused within the realm of its own subjectivity.

Objectivity, accordingly, does not mean absolute objectivity. Objectivity means subjective states, *i. e.*, given facts, or feelings,

representative of outside facts, *i. e.*, of facts that are not subjective, but objective."

Dr. Carus does not admit the separate existence of the subject, as a something underlying consciousness. He holds, with Hume, that Descartes's famous syllogism: "Cogito, ergo sum," involves a fallacy. The existence of states of consciousness proves the existence only of the feelings and thoughts which constitute consciousness, and not that of an underlying something. "The centre of our soul life, the present state of consciousness, or the subject of the act of thinking," he says, "is not at all a mysterious agent distinct from the different ideas that are thought, but it is the very idea itself that is thought. The ego is not a constant and immutable centre, but it shifts about and brings into active play, now this, and now that, concept or wish; so that now this, and now another, feeling, or thought, or desire, is awakened and stirred into prominence.

"We distinguish between the ego, or the present state of consciousness, in its continuity with former, as well as future, states of consciousness, and the concept of our own personality. The idea of our own personality is a complex conception of our bodily form, of our past experiences, and of all our future intentions. It is comprised under the little pronoun 'I.' The idea of one's own personality is, among all the ideas of a man, perhaps, the most important one, because of its constant recurrence. Yet we must bear in mind that as an idea it is not different from any other idea, representing other personalities or objects in the surrounding universe. If this concept of one's own personality is stirred in a man in combination with the idea of a certain work which is carried out by his hands, the thought rises in his brain, 'I am doing this,' or 'I am thinking this,' 'I am planning this.' In such a case, accordingly, the ego of a man happens to coincide at the moment with the idea of his personality. At the next moment, however, he may have forgotten all about himself, *i. e.*, about his personality; and his ego, *i. e.*, the present state of his consciousness, may be wholly absorbed in his work. For instance, he is felling a tree and thinks: 'Will it fall to the right or to the left?' His ego, in that case, resides in the contemplation of the tree before him, which is combined with the consideration as to where it is likely to break down. There is not an ego which thinks of the tree in its special predicament, but the idea or the tree *is* the ego at that moment."

To state the complex relations of the inferred physical world in terms of this, or any other monistic, theory, would, of course, be impossible with the language at present at our command, based, as it is, on an entirely different conception of things, or

ever likely to be at our command; and a large portion of Dr. Carus' book is occupied with the results of physiological and psychological investigations set forth in the ordinary language of science. In this there is much which even readers unaccustomed to metaphysical speculation will find highly instructive and deeply interesting. To the general reader the chapters regarding the nature of soul life central and peripheral soul life and double personality will, perhaps, be among the most attractive.

History of the Panjab. From the remotest antiquity to the present time. By SAYAD MUHAMMAD LATIF, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Gurdaspur, &c., &c. Calcutta: Central Press Company, Limited. 1891.

SINCE Froude set a new fashion in history, histories have become less and less a string of crystallized verdicts on past events, and more and more a volume of evidence, on which people, who do not like to have their thinking done for them, may form their own judgment upon every thought and every thing, from the complexion of a dead queen's motives to the colour of a dead king's hair. But even in this disposition of literary obligations and the surprises they may spring on an unsuspecting world, there may turn up witnesses—and witnesses: writers who may indiscriminately huddle together all the testimony of whatsoever kind it is possible to fall upon in the dust-heaps of libraries, or among the frivolous fumes of folklore; and writers who labour long and lovingly among their stores,—and, even when they give profusely, show some care and some kindness in their gifts.

In presenting the public with a *History of the Panjab*, which, in spite of occasional defects, which will presently be briefly indicated, is likely to take and keep a good place among the few existing Sikh histories that are both readable and useful, Sayad Muhammad Latif has put himself at once among the latter class of historians. It is, perhaps, an excessive concession to the pedantic scientific taste of the day, that he should linger for ten pages of close print over the hydrography of the Panjab, and for six more over its physical geography and economic peculiarities, before introducing the reader to the aborigines in the third chapter; but a privilege of even pedantry can be claimed for literary pursuits in these artificial days, and at any rate, with this bridge got over, as soon as the human interest of his record begins, it gets hold of the reader, and never quite leaves him till the end. How much this says for the writer can only be imagined by those who have realized the confusing character of the material with which any

chronicler of the story of the Panjab, who is intelligent and wishes to be entertaining, must have to deal.

Before Nanak sowed the seeds of the Khalsa hierarchy, into which Guru Govind subsequently introduced a political inspiration, the Panjab was the divided heritage of warlike races, chiefly Mahomedans of Afghan or Pathan origin, and Hindus of Khatri birth; with seams of Jâts, Bhatias, and more non-descript aborigines running between or through them. To infuse all these with a philosophical monotheism that could make them forget their diverse humanity, was the paradoxical dream of Nanak. To fall upon this dream, just when it was working its way amongst its intended—let us for want of a better word say—victims, and quicken them into an appreciation (more sordid, perhaps, but also more utilitarian) of both worlds, was the work of Guru Govind. There is no existing history of the Panjab in English which—supposing this estimate of the two great Sikh reformers to be accurate—shows the gradual and successful working out of their respective missions better than the substantial volume before us.

It was no easy task for Nanak even to win Khatri converts to his dreamy cult. Still more difficult was it for Govind to instil a vitality into this dream, which, if not hostile to it, was antagonistic to some of its principal elements. Harder than either of these two tasks was the business of gaining adherents to this new religio-political conspiracy from either Mahomedans, or aborigines, who must have hated it with deadly dislike or suspicion. Yet all three miracles were performed, and are recorded with an artistic fulness that suggests rather than outlines its own progressive steps.

The writer is very careful to show—what is, of course, known to all who have ever lived in or known much of the Panjab, but may not be known to mere students of its history—that there was always among its population a floating mass of Mazhabi origin, which was always impressible by the dominant faction, whatever that might be, Hindu, Mahomedan or Sikh. These Mazhabs took a Mahomedan infection from Afghan invasions of India, but took the Khatri contagion decidedly from successive Gurus, and, strange to say, sometimes, as it were, out-Sikhed the Sikh, in the time of Ranjit Singh's ascendancy, when the Khalsa had lost nearly all its purity and much of its religious force, and degenerated, over the wider extent of its range at least, into a political scheme with an entirely secular structure—a business of two worlds in theory, with one of them left out in practice. But no Mazhabi accessions could explain any Sikh successes, unless there had been power in the Khalsa, of whatever type, to draw and retain converts. Certainly Mahomedanism all over India has counted

numberless converts from outcasts as low in the social scale as the Mazhab; and has Christianity done otherwise? It is not the least charm of the Sayad's book that his wonderfully unbiased and ample evidence leaves his reader free to formulate his own theories on this and kindred subjects, while placing his critic under compulsion to acknowledge the debt owing for untainted, full, and, for the most part, authenticated testimony.

No one not possessing ample leisure need linger over the romance of the Panjab, in its virtually pre-historic days, in which its Bactrian ancestry is lost in the Macedonian invasion: but the occasional tests we have applied show that the Sayad commits no outrage on the orthodox school-book doctrines on the subject. Even if the striking dialogue between Porus and Alexander sprang rather from the brains of the ex-tempore novelist of those days than from any less ethereal source, the question, and its answer, are immaterial in more than one sense of the word.

The really historical interest of this work begins with Part II, when the crescent of Islam rose on the Indian horizon. It is one of the singular and striking merits of the Sayad's history that he holds the scales with unswerving justice between Hindu and Mahomedan, and indeed all indigenous claimants for favour. It requires some devotion to historical accuracy, for instance, for a Mahomedan historian of education, to give us this version of an old truth: "Mahomad propagated his religion with the sword. . . . He who perished in a holy war went straight to heaven. In paradise nymphs of fascinating beauty instantly waited to greet his first approach. There the gallant martyrs lived for ever a life of happiness and bliss, free from all sorrow, and liable to no inconvenience from excess. They could possess thousands of beautiful slaves, and get houses furnished with splendid gardens and with all the luxuries of life to live in. Such liberal promises of future happiness, added to an immediate prospect of riches and wealth, were enough to kindle the frenzy of the desert population of Arabia. Their warlike spirit was roused and their sensual passions inflamed." Then follows the record of ever extending conquests. The facts are stated without any betrayal of personal consciousness, and if incongruity is the essence of humour, impartiality is always an inestimable virtue in the historian.

The hundred and sixty pages forming Part II, that recount "the Mahomedan period" of Panjab history, will repay careful study from all students of Indian political exploitation, both for the statical interest of the incidents passed in review, and for their dynamic influence in many later Indian growths of mixed character and origin, whether social, political, religious, or even literary, and whether of Indian or foreign inspiration. The later Afghan complications of the British Government of India,

moreover, make some intelligent familiarity with these details a necessary qualification for a newspaper reader at the present day.

The sadness of the later days of Mahomedan supremacy long survives its glory ; for the latter departed when Shah Suja fled from Kabal, and Delhi began to be overshadowed by the British.

The "History of the Sikh Gurus," occupying Part III, and forming a natural prelude to the actual consolidation of the Sikh nation, which occupies chapters IV and V, is not the least attractive portion of the volume, placing before the English reader, with a clearness unrivalled by any work in the English language, the evolution of religious thought, and its later contamination by a political virus, among one of the most interesting of Indian races. Ranjit Singh's life-story is much too full of incidents of national rather than personal importance, and is too well and too fully told by the Sayad, to admit of, or, indeed, require, more than the brief reference that alone is possible near the close of a necessarily imperfect notice, whose object has been to inform the reader generally of what he is to expect rather than actually to present him with even the briefest summary of it.

The history itself is brought down to the present year. Comparatively trifling details begin to bulk largely in consequence of that natural, if unfortunate, process of mental microscopy by which the present exaggerates its importance over the past. If the writer's employment under the Indian Government in responsible judicial office takes the keen edge off many of his generous allusions to the foreign rulers of Hindustan, the Sayad's tribute is always good-natured, and rarely servile ; though it is where it is least effusive, that it is most impressive. It is nowhere absolutely inconsistent with self-respect ; and even an occasional indulgence in literary display involving an odd standard of morality is so rare as to challenge mention only from an excruciatingly exact censor. For a work written by a gentleman whose mother-tongue is not the English language, it is singularly free from gross errors ; its few offences against the highest standard of literary excellence ranking with pardonable provincialisms in an English author. The Sayad may, therefore, be congratulated on the production of a history of great merits and small defects.

Pre-Organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God: An Exposition and a Criticism. By CHARLES CHAPMAN, M.A., LL.D., Principal of Western College, Plymouth. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1891.

THIS is a tilt at "the Spencerian System," and the teachings of preachers of pre-organic evolution in their bearing

on the conception of God rendered in the Bible. In pursuance of his aim, Mr. Chapman has "endeavoured to subject the Spencerian teaching, when logically developed, to a series of criticisms, which, I believe, bring out its real character ; and, also, I have sought to find out whether there is, in the data from whence any valid doctrine of Pre-organic Evolution must proceed, any solid ground for Agnosticism as a substitute for such a belief in God, as a living Personal Being, as is warranted by the language of Scripture ; and, I may add, as Christian Theists maintain, warranted by the exercise of our reason on all the facts placed before us in the material, mental, and moral worlds. In the structure of the argument I deal only with such data as may be furnished by the condition of things out of which any Evolution proceeds, if there is to be a possibility of Evolution at all."

Our author has, in the early pages of his book, introduced some historical matter, with a view to indicating the continuity of thought on the subject of Evolution, and to show that the problem of to-day is but a modern version of a very ancient one, illustrated and illumined by such superior light as may be obtained from progress made in Science and Philosophy.

Philosophy and Theology : Being the first Edinburgh University Gifford Lectures by JAMES HUTCHISON STIRLING, LL.D. (Edin.), Foreign Member of the Philosophical Society of Berlin, Gifford Lecturer to the University of Edinburgh, 1888-90. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1890.

WORN in years, and sore stricken by paralysis, but with head ever bravely erect and fronting the world, the late Lord Gifford, anticipating fast coming dissolution with the same imperturbable mind which he had accustomed himself to oppose equally to the cares and the pleasures of living, took thought with God and Duty and himself as to the fitting disposal of his worldly wealth, and, having made due provision for his family, pondered long as to how best he might, with the residue, do as beseemed a considerate philanthropist, in promotion of the cause of truth. Having given the matter mature reflection, he caused to be embodied in his will the following clause :—

I, having been for many years deeply and firmly convinced that the true knowledge of God, that is, of the Being, Nature, and Attributes of the Infinite, of the All, of the First and the Only Cause, that is the One and Only Substance and Being ; and the true and felt knowledge (not mere nominal knowledge) of the relations of man and of the universe to Him, and of the true foundations of all ethics and morals,—being, I say, convinced that this knowledge, when really felt and acted on, is the means of man's highest well-being, and the security of his upward progress, I have resolved, from the 'residue'

of my estate as aforesaid, to institute and found, in connection, if possible, with the Scottish Universities, lectureships or classes for the promotion of the study of said subjects, and for the teaching and diffusion of sound views regarding them."

Hence the Gifford Lectures, 1889-90, by James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D., now published in book form at the request of the Senatus Academicus of the Edinburgh University; Lectures, the cardinal merit of which is directness of purpose, the distinguishing marks of which are plain thinking and high teaching. They give evidence of wide reading without pedantry, and their lessons are set forth with a commendable perspicacity not always maintained in expositions of theological and philosophic systems. Some critics may object that here and there in the lectures the style adopted is somewhat too simple, too colloquial, for the high themes under discussion. To us that seems, if a fault at all, a fault on the right side.

Dr. Stirling is, as Gifford Lecturer should be, unsectarian, avowed foe of religious intolerance of any kind. Some people, he tells us, consider him a Broad churchman; he himself is of opinion that he is Low, finding in that division of a church Catholic a happy combination of the best points pertaining to both high and broad, it being neither too exclusively devoted to the category of feeling on the one hand, nor, on the other, given to accentuating too much the principle of the understanding. I know not, he declares, but that all these churches have a common sin, the sin of absolute intolerance and denial, the one of the other. The difference between them and him is, as he puts it, that what they possess in what is called the *Vorstellung*, he relies upon in the *Begriff*. "What they have *positively* in the feeling, or *positively* in the understanding, or *positively* in a union of both, I have reflectively, or ideally, or speculatively, in reason." In common with the theological school to which he is most nearly affiliated, Dr. Stirling ignores Oriental philosophies and systems of theology. The scholastic dogma *ex Oriente lux* is, for him, neither true nor false, neither living faith nor dead platitude. The Orient and its manifold influences on all the world's religions, and sufisms, and theosophies, he calmly passes by on the other side, as if willing to be considered unaware of their existence and potentialities. For him, all light, whether true or misleading enough to be worth clapping argumentative extinguisher on, is, directly or indirectly, from Germany. Although, as in duty bound, he discourses of old-world Greek schools of philosophy, and the inevitable Aristotle, and Bacon, his English aftermath, yet, it is clear that he believes all adequately dry illumination to be of Teutonic derivation. Eastern world schools of thought and systems of philosophy are dismissed in half-a-dozen lines, and the Talmud is held to have been a greater educational

power for all sorts and conditions of men east of Athens, than all the stored wisdom of Arabia and Persia. The bearings of Aryan-Hindu philosophies, theologies and mythologies on the religious instincts and the natural religions of mankind are dismissed in a couple of pages ; and Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays* are our author's text book for the occasion. It is but fair to note that, in this portion of his work, Dr. Stirling laments the lack of an assistance from which he had hoped much—assistance in the shape, to wit, of a work in course of preparation by Mr. Ras Bihâry Mukharji. Meanwhile, we cannot help thinking it a pity that, *faute de mieux*, he did not fall back on Max Müller, or Dr. Muir, for information and guidance.

Discoursing on German light and leading in modern times, Dr. Stirling attributes to Spinoza and his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (A. D. 1660) "the beginning itself of the Aufklärung, that book being the quarry from which Voltaire drew, and very much a source of direction and supply to contemporary German critics ; as to England, Hume * and Gibbon were undoubted members of the Aufklärung, but only at the head of a cryptic mass." Lessing's power in the world of German thought, although he was "only a critic," is recognized ; Lessing, Lutheran pastor's eldest born, who headed the reactionary movement against the domination of destructive criticism, who vindicated, for reason and by reason, the dogmas of the Christian creed, and whose example proved determinative also for such men as Goethe, Schiller and Jean Paul. Wherefore, following (as he saw and conceived of it) the apostleship of Goethe, Carlyle's aim in *Sartor Resartus* was the re-establishment, in every earnest and educated and doubting soul, of the vital reality of veritable religion.

That was the *first* mood of Carlyle ; and it was his *highest*. He never returned to it. His *Hero-Worship* contains, perhaps, what *feels* nearest to it ; and it is significant that Carlyle himself made a common volume of the two works. But history and biography occupy him thenceforth ; and in these, unfortunately, so much of the early Gibbonian influence, to call it so, crops out, that Carlyle, on the whole, despite his natural, traditional, and philosophical piety, passes through life for a doubter merely, and is claimed and *beset* by the very men whose vein of shallow but exultant Aufklärung is precisely the object of his sincerest reprobation and uttermost disgust.

"There can be no straighter or nearer transition than from David Hume to Immanuel Kant." Thus the 15th Gifford lecture commences. Kant is held to have been perfectly familiar—through the medium of translations—with Hume's

* Dr. Stirling is characteristically affectionate towards *Scotch* sceptics and freethinkers. There can be no doubt, he says, that "it was only superstition Hume hated, and not religion ;" and his extenuations of Carlyle's heterodoxies are frequent throughout the lectures. He refers approvingly to Kant's Scotch descent.

main doctrines in regard to the existence of a God. The "centre" of Kant is defined as the *à priori*. That is to say :—

The centre of Kant is, to say so, the *à priori*—those elements of knowledge, those elements of the ordinary perception of things, that are native and proper to the mind itself, even before, or independently and in anticipation of, any actual experience of these things. That is what is meant by pure reason. Our minds shall be at birth, not, as with Locke, so many *tabulae rasæ*, so many mere blank sheets for things to write themselves into, so many empty bags or sacks for things to occupy ; but, on the contrary, they shall be, already, beforehand, rich quarries, filled, as it were, with the needful handles and cues of all things. What led Kant to this was Hume. Hume, as we know, took the cause as one thing and the effect as another ; and holding them out so, apart, challenged any man to show any principle of union between them. Without experience of the fact, it is impossible to tell that gunpowder will explode, or a loadstone attract. Consequently it is only by the custom of experience that we know the effect of the one on iron, or the consequence on the other of a spark. Kant was deeply impressed by such examples and the general challenge of Hume. He admits himself that he brooded over the problem concerned for "at least twelve years ;" and of that brooding I think it is possible to detect traces as early as the year 1766, or fifteen years before the publication of his *Kritik of Pure Reason*. What, in the end, prevented Kant from agreeing with Hume in his rationale custom, was perception of the nature of the necessity which was involved in the problem. That necessity Kant saw was not a subjective, but an objective, necessity.

Four pages further on Kant's problem is, in the following manner, hatched for him into readiness to receive sustenance :—

Well, says Kant, I have got to find the source of a *necessary* truth that is not analytic, but synthetic, and that at the same time is not due to experience. What not due to experience means has been already explained. There is no particular causation, no particular example of causality, that is not due to experience. The indentation of a cushion by a bullet is an example of causality, but it is known only by experience. So it is with all other examples, as the drifting of a ship in a stream, or the warming of a stone by the sun. All such things are just *seen* ; they are facts of experience—they are affairs of perception. Nay, the universal of causality, the universal proposition of causality, does itself involve eye sight, does itself involve experience, does itself involve perception. Every change has its cause : it is impossible that we should have any knowledge of what a change is, unless we had experience of it. There are certainly intellectual changes, changes in the process of the understanding, changes in the process of reasons, changes in belief, etc. ; but any change, even any such change, is always known to us as an alteration, substantially, of consciousness, and an alteration of consciousness is just another word for experience. We *can* have an experience only when we have an alteration of consciousness : an experience is that—an alteration of consciousness. Even the universal of causation, then, every change has its cause, is a position that involves experience, is a proposition *à posteriori*—at least so far. But so far only. Otherwise, it is, in its vital force and virtue, a proposition *à priori*. That is the contention of Kant. A change *must* have a cause. This is a truth which, though synthetic, is also apodictic—necessary and universal namely. But, says Kant, *necessity*

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The question for Kant, now, then, plainly is—How is this? How *can* the causal proposition be possibly *à priori*? How can its validity be a product of mind, and wholly independent of any experience *à posteriori*? It was this single question that led Kant in the end to his whole cumbrous, extraordinary, and incredible system. Simply to explain causality by innate principles of reason, native and original to the mind itself, Kant invented that whole prodigious machinery—merely for such explanation, Kant forced into the geometrical point of his own consciousness the infinitude of space and the infinitude of time, but grasped, throughout their whole infinitude, together both by the tree of the categories, the enchanted and enchanting Yggdrasil, whose branches reduced the infinitude in which they spread into the very finite net of the schematism that held to our ears, and eyes, and fingers, nostrils, and palate their own sensations always. That was the monstrous birth to which Kant came at last after his fifteen years' sitting on the simple egg of Hume. And, all the time, we may fancy our Indian fellow-Aryans laughing at them both, and pointing, as seen, to nothing but identity!

In the four last lectures of this course Darwin's speculations and affirmations on the *Origin* of species, and the arguments he derives from natural history in support thereof, are elaborately overthrown, to Dr. Stirling's satisfaction, at too great a length and too discursively to admit of reproduction here, even of word skeletons of the methods employed in the labour of dilapidation.

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came into existence, and found favour, in order that it might "give to what it supposed was Christianity a more national colouring." The New Dispensation, said Keshub Chunder Sen, hates dryness clothes truth in the soft, silken drapery of imagination is eminently poetical ; poetical after the manner of mystical, impassioned Persian *ghazals*. That is, Mr. Brown would have a special Liturgy—or Liturgies—devised for the use of Indian converts to Christianity. Meanwhile, he considers more than practicable one revision of form which certainly appears recommendable. In his own words :—

One change there is which I would strongly plead for. It is one which involves no departure from the Prayer Book, but would, in fact, be a more perfect carrying out of the Prayer Book as it stands. There may be reasons why the exceptional permission to pour water upon a person in Baptism should be commonly taken advantage of in England : there can be none in India. It is not of course that one is not as valid as the other. The *Teaching of the Apostles* has disposed of the supposition, so far as it ever existed, that pouring the water was not permissible in the early church. But there can be no doubt that Immersion was the rule, and both St. Paul and the Fathers founded a great deal of beautiful teaching on the symbolism of the act, all of which is lost by our present practice. Every new church ought to have a Baptistery in it, or attached to it ; or, failing that, we ought to make more use of rivers and tanks for the purposes of Baptism.

" ' The Padroada ! ' I once heard a fellow traveller exclaim in answer to a query. ' The Padroada is one of the many titles of the Archbishop of Goa.' Even the *Indian Churchman*, conducted, as it is, by learned ecclesiastics, referred to the first of this series of articles as the record of a visit to Goa and the Padroada." So the Rev. C. Swynnerton writes, and mercifully informs ignorant readers, that the hard word means simply patronage. A definition, that clears difficulties away summarily and effectually, accounts for the existence of differences of opinion. Mr. Swynnerton traces the course of Ecclesiastical Law and Papal assumptions on the subject after the manner of a practised lawyer. He tells us, *inter alia*, that from Pope Alexander the Sixth, Portugal received a grant of the Continent of Africa, together with all the fabled treasures of India and the Orient ; and he characterizes the deed of gift as " monstrous." We do not say that it was not so. Only, we take leave to think that the Pope had as good a right to sanction *quasi*-religious privateering, if he chose to, as irresponsible English, German, Belgian, Italian patriotic associations claim to have in these days to send filibustering expeditions into, what they are pleased to call, the Dark Continent, and to annex territories there to what they are pleased to call—civilization ; or to the beneficent cause of an extension of geographical knowledge and guess work. The only essential difference between the two propagandas is that exploiting parties, com-

manded by men like Mr. H. M. Stanley, have the advantages pertaining to possession of more deadly arms of precision wherewith to expedite their work of conversion.

Although Mr. Swynnerton's historical sketch is unimpeachable and edifying, yet, to our less diligently juridic mind, his record of his æsthetic perceptions and inclinations is more agreeable. They get play in an account of his visit to St. Francis Xavier's tomb at Goa. Adjudged by him a magnificent work of art, which, in richness, variety and beauty of ornamentation, is unapproached even by the splendour of the tombs of sovereign Pontiffs that embellish St. Peter's at Rome. "Europe does not equal it, and, with the exception of the solitary instance of the Tâj Mahâl, Asia cannot surpass it." It is built in three stages ; and

its materials consist of the most precious jaspers of various colours, for which the very world was ransacked. Embossed bronzes by the most celebrated artists of the period, depicting events in the life of the Saint, adorn the panelled sides. It abounds in delightful figures of carolling children, sculptured in finest Carrara alabaster. It displays flourishes, festoons, arabesques, and other reliefs so characteristic of the style and of the age, all executed with consummate care and skill. Within his encasement of silver and crystal, lined with yellow damask, embroidered with flowers and precious stones, lies the withered body of the Saint wearing his Eucharistic vestments. They are stiff with richest embroidery and pearls of price, the chasuble being emblazoned with the armorial bearings of a grateful queen, round which appears the legend—"Suo S. Xaverio Maria Sophia Regina Portugalis." That Princess, the wife of Dom Pedro II, had reason to feel thankful seeing, that, for her sake, the head of S. Francis has remained uncovered from the year 1693 to the present day. *Oriente Conquistado* informs us, with charming frankness, that the Jesuits presented her Catholic Majesty with the Saint's biretta, which she devoutly wore with much satisfaction and relief whenever, by the Divine will, she was brought to bed.

High over the carved entrance door of St. Francis Xavier's Chapel hangs a picture of St. Mary Magdalen, by Murillo :—

No one could look at this picture without lingering to look at it more. It represents S. Mary Magdalen enflamed with the Divine love. Traces of Murillo's scumbled shadows, which attest its original transparency of colour, are still perceptible. The simple flowing well-composed lines of drapery, and the beautifully modelled form and face of the fair sinner, are all blended with that master's usual care. The hands and feet so delicately drawn, the lines of composition rendered with such consummate grace, the drawing so splendidly understood, the action so vigorous, the movement so free, the treatment so large, this picture only requires a sponge and some judicious varnish to bring out its latent beauties, its well balanced masses, its breadth of light and depth of tone, in all their original pristine splendour. The artist has represented the Saint, not as a dark brunette as in the case of his Madonnas, but as a handsome blonde. She is seen reclining half on her side among blooming flowers, while an apple-bough, heavy with rosy fruit, droops close behind her head. Her right hand and shoulder are thrown back in an attitude of dreamy languor, and her right arm is partly extended, as with suffused eyes

she gazes upwards and backwards at a vision of Him Whom she loved much, seated in glory among radiant clouds. Like most Magdalens, her figure is ripe and full, reminding the spectator, somewhat disagreeably at first, of the glowing beauties of Rubens at the Louvre, or the sportive goddesses of Verrio's frescoes at Burleigh House near Stamford town, and then he remembers only the touch and the power of the painter. Her attitude expresses the very abandonment of ecstasy, a soft half-slumberous ecstasy, as though the effects of some sweet potent draught of poppy or mandragora were beginning to steal through her sluggish veins. Her melting eyes, her quivering lips, her whole pose instinct with yearning desire, not less than with warm voluptuous grace, form a masterly, if somewhat too earthly, illustration of the words of the Bride which, in letters of faded gold, are inscribed beneath the canvas:—

Fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis,
Quia amore lango.

Mr. Hyde's paper, *The "First Garrison Chaplain of Fort William,"* is a welcome addition to our annals of old Calcutta, and valuable for the lights and shades it throws on life and manners in the latter years of the last century, in connection with the Anglo-India of the period.

Kant's Principles of Politics. Including his Essay on Perpetual Peace. A contribution to Political Science edited and translated by W. HASTIE, B.D., Translator of Kant's 'Philosophy of Law,' Liou's 'Philosophy of Right,' etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1891.

AT the beginning of Mr. Hastie's apologia for this translation he writes:—

There were great thinkers before Kant who variously exhibited the independent insight and power of the modern self-consciousness—Descartes, Spinoza and Leibnitz, Bacon and Locke, Berkeley and Hume—but none of them reached the universality of his conceptions, the subtlety of his analysis, of the higher forms of thought, or the fertility of his principles of knowledge. There have been great thinkers since Kant who have striven to give expression to the continued movement and aspiration of the purified reason—Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, Krause, Herbart and Lotze, Rosmini and Gioberti, Comte, Mill, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer—but they have at the most only unfolded his seminal ideas, simplified his multiplicity, or applied, in a one-sided way at the best, the empirical side of his method.

Mr. Hastie gives us the Master's own words—in English,—and without either unfolding or simplifying, premising that to Kant, as to Plato, Politics was the crown of the whole philosophical system . . . the highest practical wisdom.

Some people assert that what Kant has been understood to teach is exactly what he intended to eradicate. Let such of our readers as are doubtful about the meaning and intention of the Master's genius from a high political point of regard, lose no time in consulting Mr. Hastie's sympathetic rendering of the theme into English.

Bacon : The Advancement of Learning. Edited by F. G. SELBY, M. A., Oxon., Late Scholar of Wadham College ; Principal and Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Deccan College, Poona ; Fellow of the University of Bombay. Vol. I., Second Edition : Madras, V. Kalyanaram Iyer. 1891.

MR. SELBY'S Notes are to the point ; his explanations lucid and informing. His edition of the *Advancement of Learning* should be an assistance to Indian students for whose use, the Preface informs us, it is specially intended.

Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales (The Indian University Series). With Introductory Notices : A Modern Prose Version of the Poem, Notes, Questions and Glossary by J. CREIGHTON, Tutor to Minors under the Court of Wards, and Examiner in English to the University ; late Principal, S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly, and Inspector of Schools, London. Madras : V. Kalyanaram Iyer. 1891.

THE text of this edition is taken from the Clarendon Press Series ; and it is claimed that every care has been taken to make it useful to the Indian student. If he *must* read what he cannot understand, we dare say he will be glad of Mr. Creighton's Notes and Glossaries.

Journal of the East India Association. Published under the authority of the Council. No. 2, Volume XXIII, May 1891. Westminster Chambers, 3, Victoria Street, S.W., London : W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S.W.

MR. TUPPER, Chief Secretary to the Panjab Government, has been lecturing at the East India Association Rooms on 'Panjab Progress,' his object being to give a general outline of administrative progress under British rule ; a dry task lucidly accomplished. Mr. Tupper approves of decentralization, says it reminds him of Tennyson :—

"By degrees to fulness wrought
The strength of some diffusive thought
Hath time and space to work and spread."

That policy was essentially a diffusive thought ; and its consequences have spread all over India and are daily influencing its political, moral and material progress.

I believe that our future success in the Government of the country depends very largely upon the number of cases in which we achieve in other matters such combinations of uniform principles with discretionary powers as the Government of India has already achieved in the matter of provincial finance. Of course I do not say that that system is already perfect. Far from it ; one of the great merits of it is, that it is capable of great development, and that development is still going on. But I do believe that we are wise to imitate it ;

and, on a smaller scale, we have imitated it in the financial arrangements made between the Provincial Government and our thirty District Boards and 148 Municipalities. As Imperial services have been transferred to us, so we have transferred to these local bodies a great variety and number of local works and services.

Mr. Arthur Brandreth, Mr. Charles Boulnois, and Mr. Tupper himself consider the growing increase of litigation and love for litigation in the Panjab, fostered by the adoption of Regulation canons of administration, signs of political health, energy, and prosperity, to be rejoiced in rather than deprecated. We are glad to find Sir George Campbell throwing cold water on that nonsense. *A'propos* of the Panjabi disposition to drag enemies before the Courts in season and out of season, in pocket and out of pocket, "I am just afraid that we have given too much fuel to that fire," he said.

Referring to another besetting sin, he remarked, "We know very well it is the great evil of peasant proprietary in the modern sense that you give people, who have not been accustomed to credit, too much credit perhaps, and they are very apt to get into debt." Panjabi women meet with Sir George's approbation inasmuch as they are extremely sturdy and do not shirk work. He thinks they are entitled to a share in the benefits of popular education. What do *they* think on the subject? Education is not like Free Trade: you cannot force it on an unwilling people. And which are best—sturdy, contented, sensible, homely housewives, or namby-pamby Misses smelling of the pastry cooks, and agog for milliners' bills and French novels, and gadabouting?

Tales from Blackwood. Third Series, No. XI. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

"CHRISTMAS EVE in a Haunted Hulk" is a creepy story in which a veritable ghost—none of your new-fangled nightmare-dream bogies or optical delusion fudges—frightens half his life out of a man in old-fashioned orthodox style. "Dicky Dawkins" is a racy tale in every sense of the word. "Airy Nothing" is a Hegelian romance with the ego and the non-ego for hero and heroine, and Calypso for fairy godmother, whose advice to the metaphysic mad hero is, "Be sure you understand Hegel when you read him, else do not read him at all." The next selection, "A Chapter from an Unknown Life," is pathetic. "Mar'se Dab after the War" pictures pastoral life in reconstructed Virginia. "Unfathomed Mysteries" is an account by Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming of her experiences at a Boston *séance*, and an undogmatic enquiry into the truth or untruth of spiritualistic manifestations—the writer evidently inclining to belief in their truth, though she does not say so.

Travel, Adventure, and Sport. Blackwood's Magazine, Third Series, No. XI. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons.

CHARMINGLY here has Mrs. Oliphant interwoven in the commonplace web of a holiday visit to Capri woof of romance, reflection, humour, good humoured undidactic wisdom ; and a delightful paper to read, or to re-read, is her "Life in an Island."

As a sample of its flavour, take the two following extracts from contiguous pages :—

But howsoever the road went, it led always to some mount of vision, from which the strangers could look again upon those unparalleled coasts, the landscape which no poet's imagination could surpass, and of which even the guides were to a certain extent sensible, but in a reasonable way. "*Vedi Napoli, e mori,*" in humble quotation of the proverb, said an English lady in a moment of enthusiasm. Feliciello stopped short by the stirrup, and Pascorello turned from his horse's tail. "But why, signora?" said the wondering Capriotes ; perhaps because, seeing Naples every day, they felt no necessity for dying. With peasants, even when they are Italians, the sentimental stands but little chance. But they were not indifferent like the prosaic Swiss, to whom their mountains are a matter of trade.

It would be vain to attempt to shake the popular conviction that Italian is the most musical and soft of languages, though practically our own opinion and experience go against this amiable fallacy ; but the profoundest believer in its beauty would be startled to have a villanous "Bash !" thrown at him like a stone, instead of the gentle "Basta," which looks so well in print ; and would find it hard to identify "Ashpett" with the liquid "Aspetta," which conveys its meaning in its very sound. Such eccentricities of popular diction are, however, common to all languages ; but there is something especially characteristic in the Capriote affirmative, "Niursi," which combines respect and decision in one of the contractions dear to all Italians. "Si, Signore," sounds soft and yielding ; but a woman who says "Niursi," is likely to know her mind and keep by her determination.

A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, based upon the *St. Petersburg Lexicons*, by CARL CAPPELLER, Professor at the University of Jena. London : Luzac & Co., Great Russell Street, W. C. Strassburg : K. T. Trübner. 1891.

WE have to thank Messrs. Luzac & Co., of Great Russell Street, London, for a well got-up Sanskrit-English Dictionary, based on the *St. Petersburg Lexicons*.

Professor Carl Cappeller of the Jena University is responsible for the literary part of the undertaking, which is an amplified rendering in plain Anglo-Saxon of the Professor's German edition, specially designed for students :—

As to the texts for which this work was designed to serve as a special glossary, I had originally only in view those of the second edition of Böhtlingk's *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*, the hymns translated by Geldner and Kaegi, those edited by Windisch, the *Brāhmaṇa* pieces translated by WEBER in Vol. I of the *Indische Streifen*

Nala, and the plays of Kālidāsa. To render my book more useful to the English student of Sanskrit, I have now added to the texts just mentioned the Marut hymns translated by F. MAX MULLER, the Kathopanishad, Manu, Bhagavadgītā, Hitopadeśa, Meghadūta, Mrcchakatikā, and Mālatīmādhava. I have abstained from taking in more words from Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts, as these will always be least and last of all studied by beginners, thinking it better to enlarge, as much as possible, the Postvedic or classical vocabulary. From the latter literature, therefore, a great many words that have not been received into the Petersburg Dictionaries (*e.g.*, those translated from Prākṛt and many compounds) are to be found in my book, which, I believe, will furnish the reader sufficient help to understand also easier texts not particularly held in view by the author, *e.g.*, the most beautiful episodes of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, the epics of Kālidāsa, the other two plays of Bhavabhūti, and in general such works as are most appreciated and studied by every friend of Sanskrit literature. For while enlarging the number of compounds, I made it no less a rule to incorporate into this Dictionary *all primary words of well settled meaning*, and so in all essentials to preserve its double character, to be not only a handbook for the beginner in Sanskrit, who wants to have as *many* words as possible explained to him, but also to serve the purposes of the linguistic student, whose interest is limited to the *old* stock of words and their relations to other languages.

The Dictionary is dedicated to Professor Whitney, "the chief interpreter of the Eastern to the Western Aryans," whereby, once more it is made manifest that a Prophet hath no honour in his own country.

Max Müller is, however, so full crowned with honours that he can afford to make room on his pedestal for a confrère.

Natural Religion in India. The Rede Lecture delivered in the Senate-house on June 17th, 1891. By SIR ALFRED LYALL, K.C.B., K.C.I.E. Cambridge: University Press. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane. 1891.

A COPY of Sir Alfred Lyall's Rede Lecture reaches us on the eve of going to press with this issue of the *Calcutta Review*, and it is thus beyond our power to notice it adequately.

We can only say that, like all the fruiting of Sir Alfred's restful aftermath, it shows thorough grasp of the essentials, of his subjects widely catholic faculty for sympathy, and a power of pithy condensation and versatile preparedness with apt illustrations drawn from life—all which contributories to the lecture's interest are admirably utilized and to be admired. Whoso has not yet read and thought over the propositions and arguments set out in these 64 pages of big, clear type, will do well to procure forthwith a copy of *Natural Religion in India*, and to study it. To men living in the Mofussil, among unsophisticated peoples, it may haply prove a fresh stimulant to the pleasurable pursuit of folklore, ethnic congruities and divergencies, hitherto undiscovered heredities, the blendings of

old faiths with new ones—to these and similarly agreeable pastimes for dreary hot weather days, and the solitary watches of uncompanionable cold weather nights. Sir Alfred Lyall says:—

My point is that Hinduism can be seen growing; that one can discern the earliest notions, rude and vague, among the primitive jungle tribes; that one can see the same ideas and practices upon a higher level, in more distinct and reasonable shape, among the settled classes; and that one can follow them upwards until they merge into allegory, mysticism, or abstract philosophical conceptions. I think that it is possible to trace in India, less obscurely than elsewhere, the development of natural into supernatural beliefs. I do not pretend that India contains any very rare or unusual kinds of ritual or worship; for nothing is more remarkable than the persistent similarity of such ideas and practices among primitive folk. What makes India so valuable as a field of observation, is that the various forms and species lie close together in one country at the same time, so that their differences and affinities can be compared.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India.* Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 for April, May, June and July 1891. Calcutta: Office of Superintendent, Government Printing, India.
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- Contents and Index of the first Twenty Volumes of the Records of the Geological Survey of India, 1868 to 1887.* Calcutta: Office of Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 1891.
- Indian Melodies.* By Glyn Barlow, M.A. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. London: W. Thacker & Co., Newgate Street. 1891.
- General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India Department during 1889-90.* Prepared under the direction of Colonel H. R. Thuiller, R. E., Surveyor General of India. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1891.
- Annual Report on the Government Cinchona Plantation and Factory in Bengal for the year 1890-91.* Calcutta: Office of Superintendent, Government Printing, Bengal.

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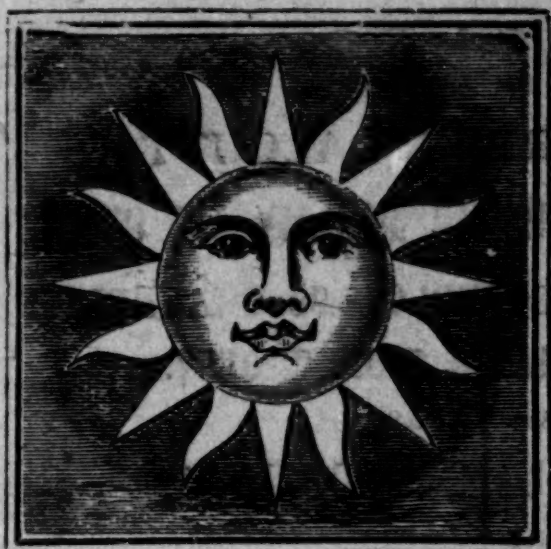
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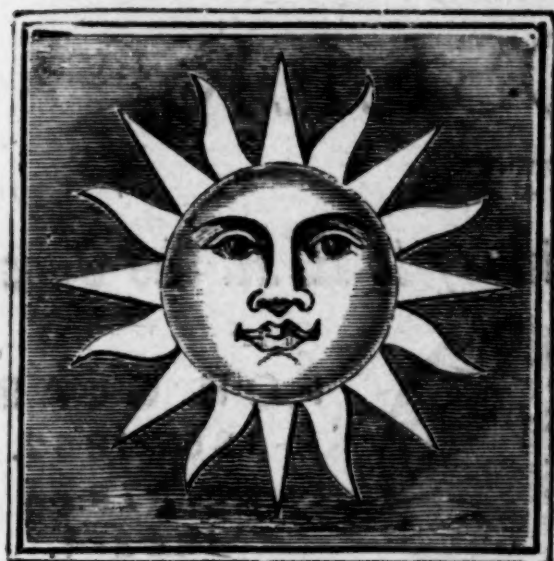
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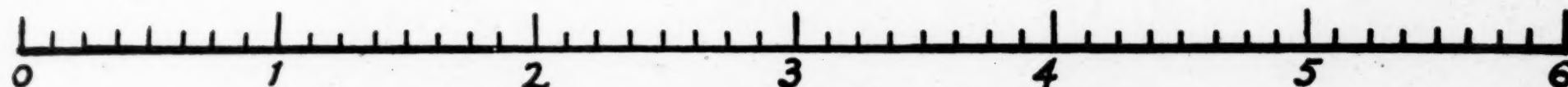
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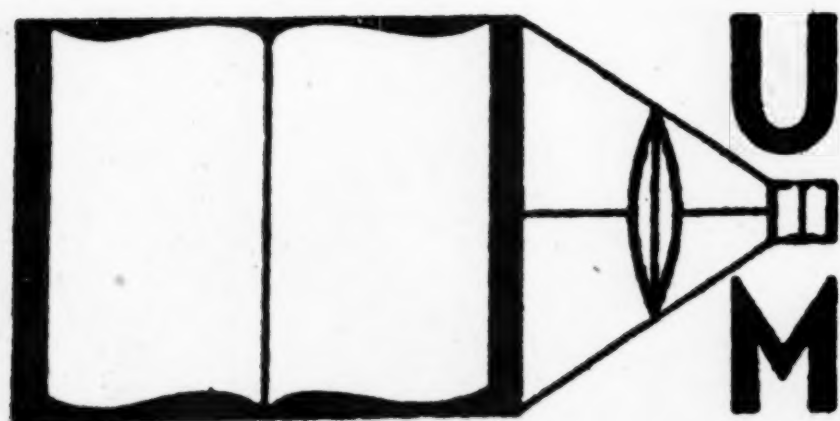
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